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DID CHARLES I *REALLY* HAVE TO DIE?



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THE BARONS' CRUSADE

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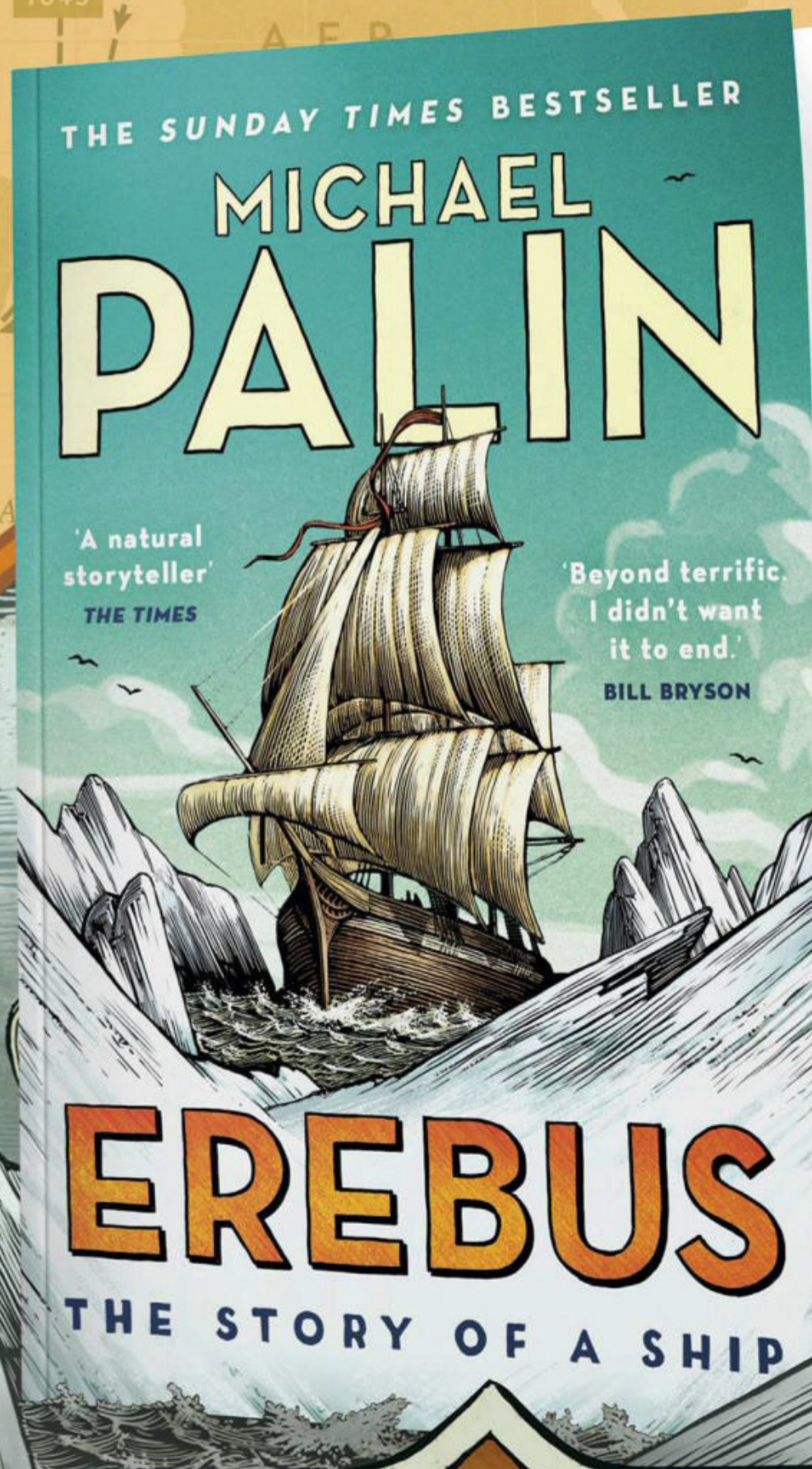
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“It was one of the most radical rebellions in European history. In the mid-13th century a group of noblemen, led by Simon de Montfort, took control of England, **held King Henry III captive**, and introduced dramatic reforms including, most famously, a representative parliament. In this month’s cover feature, historian Sophie Thérèse Ambler revisits this **medieval revolution** and the bloody conflict that accompanied it, arguing that this was a holy war, inspired by the zeal and brutality of the crusades. You’ll find her piece on page 24.

Revolution was also in the air 100 years ago this month, as Britain – and indeed many other countries – struggled to cope with **the aftermath of the First World War**. In the Red Summer of 1919 the UK was beset with race riots, strikes and angry protests, which some in government feared might herald a Bolshevik-style uprising. Clifford Williamson picks up the story on page 32.

Of course no revolution in British history had as dramatic a denouement as the **Civil War**, which, in January 1649, saw King Charles I executed by his parliamentarian enemies. Though Charles had been defeated on the battlefield, his death was far from a certainty and, even during his trial, there remained opportunities for the king to save his life. Ultimately, though, he failed to take them, and on page 44 Leanda de Lisle explains why, in the end, parliament was left with no choice but to lead the monarch to the scaffold.

I hope you enjoy the issue.

Rob Attar
Editor



THIS ISSUE'S CONTRIBUTORS



AC Grayling

We've lost momentum in considering questions such as how we think about things like death and love. I hope that getting people interested in the larger story of philosophy will bring those questions back into focus.

AG Grayling discusses his new book on the history of philosophy, on page 70



Sophie Thérèse Ambler

My research investigates the relationship between politics, war and faith in the Middle Ages – including England's first revolution, when Simon de Montfort seized power from the king.

Sophie tells the story of the barons' revolt against Henry III, on page 24



Leanda de Lisle

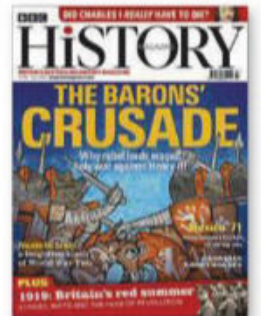
Charles I was born into an era of regicide, with fanatics claiming the right to kill rulers of the wrong religion. When Charles lost the argument against this, he also lost his head.

Leanda chronicles the events that led to Charles I's beheading in 1649, on page 44

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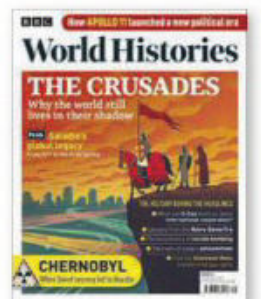
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BBC History Magazine, PO Box 3320, 3 Queensbridge, Northampton, NN4 7BF. Basic annual subscription rates: UK: £48, Eire/Europe: £67, ROW: £69
Editorial *BBC History Magazine*, Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited, Tower House, Fairfax Street, Bristol BS1 3BN

In the **US/Canada** you can contact us at:
PO Box 37495, Boone, IA 50037
 BHlcustserv@cdsfulfillment.com,
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GETTY IMAGES/BRIDGEMAN/REUTERS



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EYE OPENER

What lies beneath

Dozens of Anglo-Saxon treasures found inside a burial chamber hailed as the "UK's equivalent of Tutankhamun's tomb" have gone on public display. The seventh-century artefacts, including this glass beaker, were unearthed in Prittlewell, Essex in 2003. After years of analysis, the objects can now be viewed at Southend Central Museum as part of a new gallery devoted to the discovery. Experts believe the tomb belonged to Seaxa, brother of King Saeberth of Essex, who was the first East Saxon king to convert to Christianity.

TALKING POINTS

Confronting slavery's legacy



An announcement that Cambridge University will investigate its historical links with slavery has prompted a wealth of discussion. **ANNA WHITELOCK** examines the reaction on social media

Britain's uneasy relationship with its colonial past continues to create headlines, with universities now sharply in focus. Following the announcement of a two-year investigation to determine the extent to which the university "contributed to, benefited from or challenged" slavery and the slave trade, Cambridge has been in the eye of the storm.

Many took news that the inquiry will be chaired by a white man, classics professor Martin Millett, as evidence of disingenuous tokenism. **Kehinde Andrews** (@kehinde_andrews) tweeted to say that the fact the investigation is to be run by "an almost exclusively white centre for 'African' studies" means the initiative is "at best, a publicity stunt". He added that: "The worst outcome of 'decolonising' is that the university is recreating inequalities by giving white scholars more topics to publish and promote on."

Cecily Jones (@CessJones) went further, tweeting: "Just wondering why so many 'modern slavery/anti-slavery projects' are either solely or primarily staffed by white academics? Or why senior academics on these projects tend to be white, while black academics are mainly research assistants?"

Based at Cambridge University, academic **Priyamvada Gopal** (@PriyamvadaGopal)

called on the university "to co-opt" leading black British scholars to the committee, to "stop tokenising and begin reparations on representation".

Writing for *The Guardian*, **David Olusoga** (@DavidOlusoga) suggested that by "curing itself of amnesia", Cambridge "might help Britain understand its past". The article, headlined, "Why are so many afraid to confront Britain's historical links with the slave trade?" also prompted others to reflect on the nation's attitude to its colonial legacy.

Among them was **Tom Holland** (@holland_tom), who pointed out that: "Part of the problem is that the moral well-springs of abolitionism have been forgotten, and so it becomes very difficult to make sense of why and how slavery came to be abolished by any standards save those of the present day." In a similar vein, **Dame Averil Cameron** (@19Averil) said: "There was no call for abolition in the New Testament or in many centuries of Christianity, so it was all the more remarkable when it came." Holland also noted: "To us, it seems so clear that slavery is iniquitous that we forget just how recent, radical and contingent an opinion it is." **H**

Anna Whitelock is director of the London Centre for Public History and Heritage at Royal Holloway, University of London

// The news was evidence to many of disingenuous tokenism //

St Catharine's College, Cambridge has already removed a bell from view after concluding it came from a slave plantation



A poster advertising a café, 1897. Europe's long association with coffee will be explored in detail

INTOXICANTS

Drugs and how they got to Europe

The origins of western Europe's relationship with imported intoxicants is set to be the focus of a new research project. The two-year study, led by the University of Sheffield in partnership with historians in Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands, will explore the ways in which nations were first introduced to substances such as opium, tobacco, tea, coffee, sugar and chocolate.

Using Amsterdam, Hamburg, London and Stockholm as case studies, the project will also try to shed light on how the consumption of these substances affected people's diets and lifestyles, leading to the creation of new public spaces such as coffeehouses.

In London, for example, researchers will chart the volume of intoxicants coming into the capital, from the first decades of traffic in tobacco (c1600) to the start of the Opium Wars (c1850). They will then measure the impact of the substances by looking at primary sources taken from 50-year intervals throughout the period, including popular books and customs records.

Once the findings from the cities have been compared, the material will be used to create a digital exhibition charting the history of intoxicants across western Europe. Research teams will work with schools to raise awareness about old and new intoxicants, as well as with the United Nations in order to help inform health initiatives.

Project leader Professor Phil Withington of the University of Sheffield says the study will "show how the past can illuminate contemporary problems and social issues". He adds: "We take our tobacco, our caffeine and our chocolate for granted, but how these intoxicants became part of European diets reveals so much about social identities, about politics, and about how tastes are shaped, valued, and criminalised in the past and the present." **H**



HISTORY IN THE NEWS

A selection of the stories hitting the **history** headlines



A GOOD MONTH FOR...

LILY PARR

A statue of trailblazing footballer Lily Parr is set to be unveiled at the National Football Museum in Manchester. Parr, who scored more than 900 goals between 1919 and 1951, spent the majority of her career at Dick, Kerr Ladies FC (see page 60 for more on women's football).

STONEHENGE

A 'missing' piece of Stonehenge is back in Wiltshire more than 60 years after it was first taken. The metre-long core of sarsen stone was returned by Robert Phillips, who kept the fragment after it was drilled out during repairs in 1958. Experts hope it will aid research into the stones' origins.

A BAD MONTH FOR...



MACHU PICCHU

Peruvian archaeologists have expressed dismay following the start of construction work on a new airport near Machu Picchu. Critics say that low-flying planes will cause irreparable damage to the citadel's Inca ruins, which date back to the 15th century.



White Queen may have died of "plague"

A newly discovered letter in the National Archives indicates that Elizabeth Woodville, the White Queen, succumbed to the plague. The letter, written by the Venetian ambassador, remarks that "the queen-widow, mother of King Edward, has died of plague, and the king is disturbed". Records specialist Euan Roger believes the cause of death – never officially stated – and fear of contagion may explain why she was given a modest funeral.



Queen Wilhelmina wanted to save Belgian royals through Nazi deal

Wartime diary entries claim that Queen Wilhelmina sought to save the Belgian royal family by bargaining with the Nazis. Newly published writings by the Dutch monarch's foreign minister, Eelco van Kleffens, show that Wilhelmina wanted to release high-ranking Nazis in exchange for King Leopold III, who was imprisoned with his family in Austria.

Bone disease discovery

Analysis of a group of medieval skeletons has revealed they were affected by an ancient form of a bone disorder. University of Nottingham scientists found that the deceased had an aggressive type of Paget's disease, distinct from that commonly found today. The study suggests the evolution of other conditions could be charted through similar techniques.



FROM TOP TO BOTTOM:

Historical re-enactors play the roles of Chinese and Irish railroad workers; a portrait of Elizabeth Woodville; Queen Wilhelmina in c1938–48; a skeleton from Norton Priory, Cheshire

Sri Lanka's clash of faiths

The Easter Day bombings in Sri Lanka called to mind the bloodshed of the recent civil war. But, says **ALAN STRATHERN**, the island has long been home to religious tensions

The bombings in hotels and churches in Sri Lanka on Easter Day were not only devastating to anyone with connections to the country, they were also confusing. The scale and ruthlessness of the violence, in which more than 250 were killed and some 500 injured, the high levels of organisation involved, the use of suicide bombers and the targeting of hotels, all suggested Islamist violence. But why then were churches – in Colombo, Negombo and Batticaloa – among the targets? Historically, there has been little tension between the Muslims (at 10 per cent of the population) and Christians (at about 7 per cent): the last recorded incident of violence was in the 1890s.

If Muslims had reason to feel aggrieved, it would usually have been with hard-line elements among the Buddhist majority (70 per cent of the population), who had started to harass Muslims in recent years. Since 2013, some monks have even been involved in encouraging mob attacks on Muslim businesses and spreading scurrilous rumours about them. Little justice has been forthcoming.

The irony of the attacks is already painfully apparent, for while Sri Lanka did not in fact have any problem with Islamist violence, it was as if some were doing their best to create one. It is now clear that the bombers in the Easter Sunday atrocity were just the tip of an extensive local network, and it is likely that such grievances were key to their radicalisation. Yet somehow they chose to target Christian churches, their vision and passion now seemingly inspired by the imperatives of a global jihad.

Some may be surprised that Buddhists, including monks, were involved in these acts of harassment. But they have naturally been influenced by global news outlets repeatedly broadcasting images of Islamist violence. They may also regard such vast proselytising monotheistic faiths as inherently threatening – what looks like pious missionary work to Christians or Muslims, of course, can look like an existential



Missionary zeal A painting shows the Portuguese colonising Sri Lanka in the 16th century, introducing Christianity to the island

threat to Buddhists. In fact, similar feelings have also found expression in anti-Christian rumours and agitations of late. And in recent years, parts of the Muslim population had been moving towards a stricter interpretation of the faith as Wahhabi or Salafi currents emanated from the Arab Middle East. This would, no doubt, have also affected community relations.

But anti-Muslim agitation may also be considered as the by-product of an ethnic-nationalist-religious sentiment that was centuries in the making and which intensified during the civil war of 1983–2009. This was a deadly conflict that sucked in young men and women to fight a conventional war in the north and east of the island while the whole country was subject to terror campaigns by the LTTE (the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), who were pioneering the use of the suicide bomb.

Fighting for a homeland

It is important to note that the Sri Lankan civil war was primarily an ethnic conflict rather than a religious one and that Muslims were largely bystanders. The war pitted the Tigers fighting for a Tamil homeland in the far north and east of the country against a state dominated by the Sinhalese. While the majority of Tamils are Hindu, the Tigers also included prominent Catholics in their ranks and espoused a broadly secular policy. Yet religious feelings did come to shape the conflict in important ways. Above all, the Sinhalese identity had long been associated with Buddhism, as both sides understood. It is for this reason, for example, that in 1998 the LTTE suicide bomb-

// The Sri Lankan civil war was primarily an ethnic conflict. Muslims were largely bystanders in the war //



Aftermath Officials survey the damage at St Sebastian Catholic church, Negombo, following the wave of bombings that struck Sri Lanka over Easter 2019

ers targeted one of the most sacred sites for Buddhists in Sri Lanka, the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, believed to contain a tooth from the Buddha.

When the war finally ended in 2009, following a ruthless final push to destroy the Tigers that led to the deaths of thousands of civilians and combatants, it was as if fired-up Sinhalese nationalism needed to find new targets. Now the Tamil rebels were neutered, attention seemed to shift to religious minorities.

This defensiveness about Buddhism in fact reaches back far into the past. Buddhism had arrived on the island in the third century BC following a mission from the Mauryan emperor Ashoka in India. The religion became a defining feature of the civilisation that was developing in the dry-

REUTERS

zone of the island centred on the city of Anuradhapura. (The large numbers of tourists who visit it each year are essentially walking around the remains of huge monastic complexes and temples.) Around the fifth century AD, Sinhalese monks produced a chronicle, the *Mahavamsa*, which tells the story of the island and its kings from the perspective of Buddhism. The Buddha is said to have thrice cleared the land of demons in preparation for the arrival of the prince, Vijaya, who would go on to found Sinhalese society. In this vision then, the island is destined to be the sacred land in which the truth of the *dhamma* (Buddha's teachings) will be protected and promulgated. At various times since, this has helped shape the sense among Sinhalese Buddhists that the island belonged to them by right,

TIMELINE **A history of ethnic and religious tensions**

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--|--|---|
| Third century BC Buddhism is said to have arrived in Sri Lanka through an embassy from the Mauryan emperor Ashoka in India. | AD 1070 The capital shifts from Anuradhapura to the city of Polonnaruwa, which also has a strong connection with Hinduism. | 1506 The Portuguese arrive and begin to influence Sri Lanka's affairs, eventually conquering the lowlands. Some inhabitants convert to Catholicism. | 1815 The British assume control of the whole of the island, having taken the lowlands in 1802. | 1948 Sri Lanka achieves independence from the British. | 1983 After years of growing ethnic tensions, civil war breaks out between the Sri Lankan state and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). | 2009 The civil war is brought to an end through a brutal military campaign, which leads to the death of thousands of people in the north. |
|---|--|---|--|--|--|---|

Young guns

Tamil fighters in 1990 during their 26-year conflict with government forces. Religion shaped the civil war in important ways, argues Alan Strathern



while other peoples were there on sufferance.

Indeed, Sri Lanka did go on to play an important role in the expansion of Buddhism – at least of the Theravada variety that spread to the region of modern-day Burma, Thailand and Cambodia. This was based on the teachings set down by monks on the island using the ancient scriptural language of Pali, among the oldest Buddhist scriptures worldwide.

A pluralist society

Still, we should not overstate the importance of religious boundaries for most of Sri Lanka's history. Much religious practice was remarkably cosmopolitan and pluralist, subject to waves of influence coming from the much larger Hindu societies of the Indian subcontinent. Meanwhile, a Tamil kingdom developed in Jaffna, in the island's north. From the ninth century, Muslims came to play an increasingly important part in Indian Ocean commerce. Sri Lanka, situated right in the middle of this great trading zone, naturally came to acquire small communities of Muslim merchants, and their long-settled descendants eventually became known as 'Moors'. By and large peaceful co-existence was the order of the day.

In 1506, the first Europeans washed up on Sri Lanka's shores in the shape of the Portuguese. Intent on muscling-in on the trade in cinnamon, the island's most desired spice, they made some of the kings of the island vassals. Then, in the 1590s, they launched a campaign of conquest, taking the lowland regions of the island. This was one of the earliest examples of European colonialism in Asia, and such was the missionary zeal of the Portuguese that their presence could not but politicise religious identity. Particularly receptive to their message were groups living along the coast involved

in fishing and trade. Already in 1544, for example, the people of the small island of Mannar in the north-west converted to Catholicism, inspired by the work of the missionary Francis Xavier nearby, perhaps in order to gain Portuguese protection. The Tamil king Sankili massacred 600 of them shortly afterwards. (It is possible that we have now found their resting place: a mass grave discovered in Mannar was suspected of being a recent war crime until a few months ago when the bones were radiocarbon-dated to different dates ranging from the 15th to 17th centuries. Once archaeological excavations are complete, we may find ourselves looking at the first act of mass violence against Christians in Sri Lanka.)

The Dutch fought with the Portuguese for control of the lowlands, which they achieved by 1658. Then, in the early 1800s, the British conquered the entire island and placed it under crown rule. Christian missionaries arrived and a smattering of inhabitants converted to Anglicanism. But these efforts stimulated a fightback in the form of a vigorous reassertion of Buddhism, and in the 20th century, this Buddhist revival became bound up with Sinhalese opposition to colonial rule.

Once independence was granted in 1948, it was rather inevitable that democratic politicians would seek to woo the majority Sinhalese Buddhist vote by pursuing policies that spoke to their identity. These were among the conditions that led to the outbreak of civil war in 1983. But after this long war ended in 2009, the country had finally got used to peace. The hotels were booming as tourists flooded in to sample the island's many charms, and then – a sudden return to violence, of a most dreadful and unexpected kind. **H**



Alan Strathern is associate professor in history at Brasenose College, Oxford and a specialist on Sri Lanka. He is author of *Unearthly Powers: Religious and Political Change in World History* (Cambridge, 2019)

// Such was the missionary zeal of the Portuguese that their presence could not but politicise religious identity //



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MICHAEL WOOD ON...
CHURCHILL AND ANTI-SEMITISM

// The 1905 Aliens Act was designed to curb Jewish immigration //

I recently attended a Holocaust memorial event in Manchester. In a packed auditorium you could hear a pin drop as survivors told stories of the Łódź ghetto and the 'Voyage of the Damned' of 1939, when more than 900 Jewish refugees aboard MS *St Louis* were refused entry to Cuba, the US and Canada, and instead had to seek safety in Belgium, the Netherlands and the UK. It was a poignant evening.

Afterwards, I found myself thinking about Manchester's role in Jewish history. People often forget that Winston Churchill started his political career in the area. He was Conservative MP for Oldham from 1900–04, but split with the party over the Aliens Act of 1905, which was specifically designed to curb Jewish immigration. Churchill argued the act would "appeal to insular prejudice against foreigners and to racial prejudice against Jews". He preferred "the old tolerant and generous practice of free entry and asylum to which this country has so long adhered, and from which it has so greatly gained".

The Oldham Conservative party did not support his candidacy in the next election, and in 1906 he took up the Manchester Liberals' offer to stand for them. Under Asquith, he championed many liberal causes: prison reform and workers' rights, the introduction of a social security system and legal rights for trades unions. For these initiatives, the *Daily Mail* attacked him for "radicalism of reddest type". Churchill's Manchester North West constituency centred on Cheetham Hill, heartland of the Jewish community in Manchester, which was home to many people who had escaped persecution in Russia and eastern Europe to build a new life in Britain. Michael Marks, for example, was a Jewish immigrant who opened an M&S store on Cheetham Hill Road, which today is often said to be Britain's most diverse street.

Churchill threw himself into life there, attending festivities at the synagogue, supporting the Jewish soup kitchen, the Jewish lads club, and the tennis and cricket clubs. Indeed, his first public event with his new wife, Clemmie, was the opening of a wing at the Jewish hospital. Churchill admired Jewish culture. He highlighted the idea of "a lucky community" with "corporate spirit of faith and the personal driving energy which brought vitality into all their institutions".

Churchill was a man of his time, of course, an unashamed imperialist, and not all his pronouncements look well today. But he was an internationalist and, as his career shows, a humane person. He was a vocal and sincere supporter of the Jewish people in a time of widespread anti-Semitism, which he abhorred. Walking down Cheetham Hill Road, he could see that the Aliens Act would create a hostile environment that would especially hit poor Jewish victims of the pogroms in eastern Europe.

So the Manchester Jewish community has a special place in Churchill's story, and hence in the whole course of 20th-century Jewish history. In a 1908 by-election he lost to the Conservatives by 429 votes, but after he left Manchester he always retained a special feeling for the community he left behind. He cherished warm feelings of respect and friendship with key Jewish figures, for example the Laskis, a prominent intellectual family, and Chaim Weizmann, Israel's first president, who it is often forgotten lived in Manchester for 30 years. This helps to explain Churchill's strong and, at the time, controversial commitment to a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

All this he carried into his later political life, especially from 1942 as eyewitness accounts emerged of the Holocaust. He was behind the statement published in December 1942, addressed to the UN and broadcast by the BBC, that the systematic extermination of European Jews was taking place, which Churchill called "the greatest and most horrible crime ever committed in the history of the world". The end of the war, he hoped, would see the establishment of universal human rights, "and racial persecution will be ended".

And now, 75 years on, unbelievably, anti-Semitism is on the rise again. Synagogues have been attacked, and Jews murdered in Europe and in the USA. In Europe, cemeteries have been desecrated, and high fences and security gates protect Jewish schools. In the UK, a great political party founded to advance the people's rights struggles to deal with anti-Semitism in its own ranks. As always, history, in this case a forgotten part of Churchill's story, can offer us another perspective. **H**

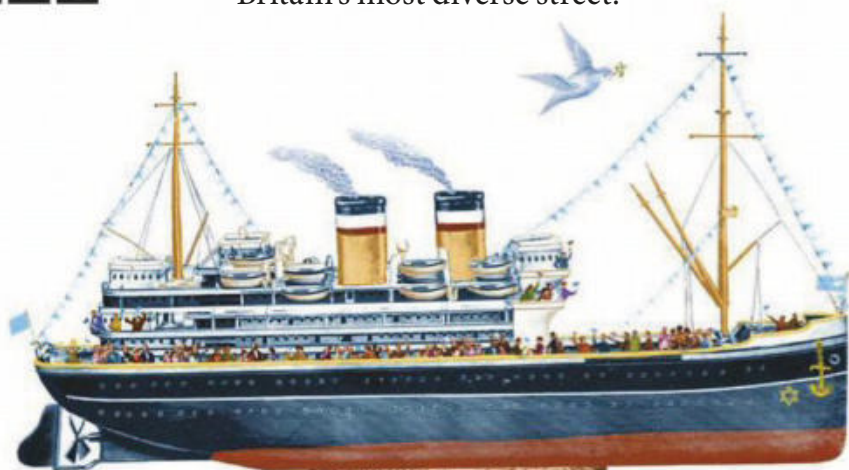
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ILLUSTRATION BY FEMKE DE JONG

Michael Wood is professor of public history at the University of Manchester. He has presented numerous BBC series, and his books include *The Story of England* (Viking, 2010)

BBC



ANNIVERSARIES

DOMINIC SANDBROOK highlights events that took place in July in history

6 JULY 1942

Anne Frank enters the 'Secret Annex'

"All day long we unpacked boxes," wrote the 13-year-old as her family set up a hidden home

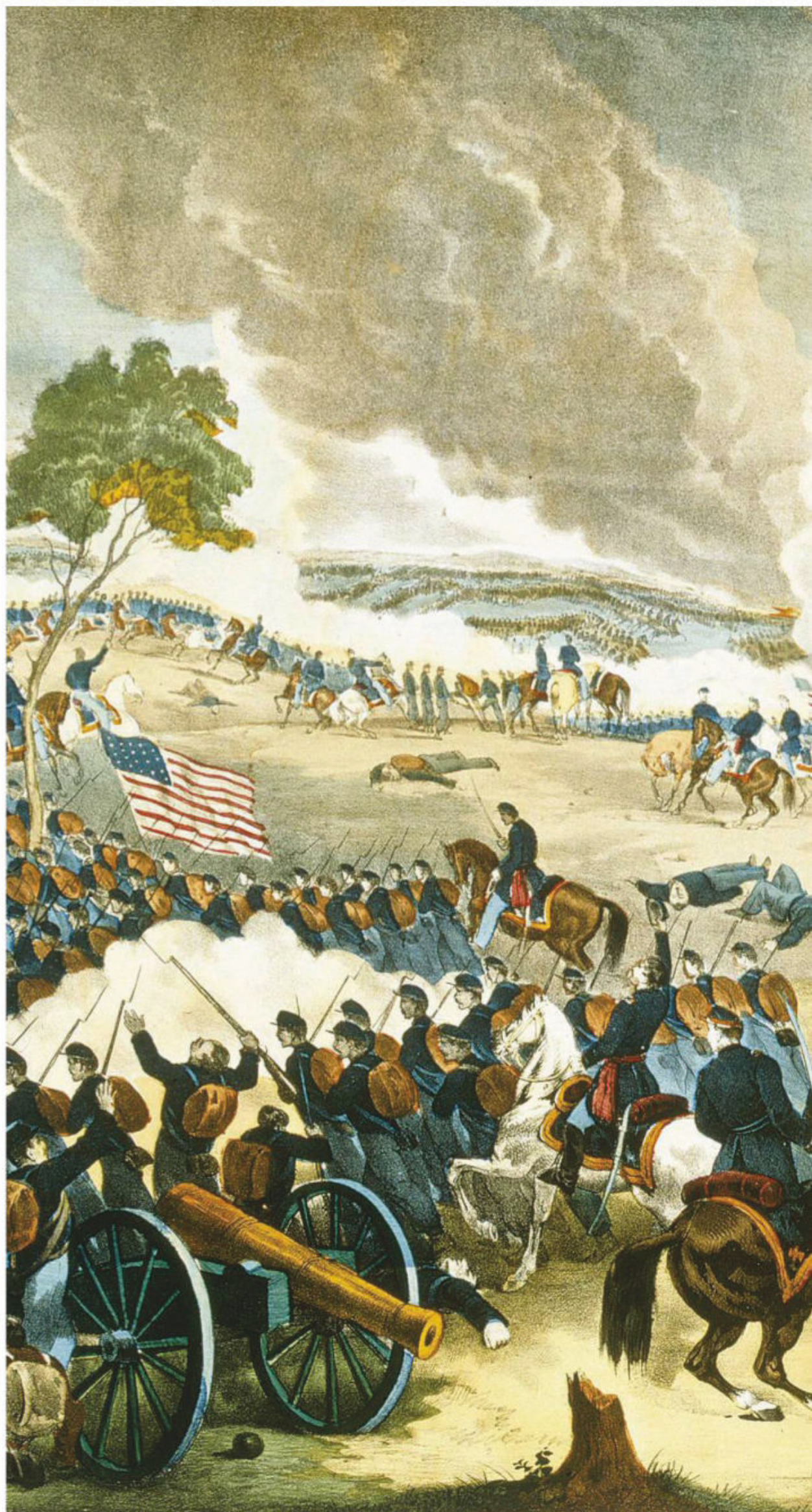
On the afternoon of 5 July 1942, the Frank family had the news they dreaded. For more than two years, they had been living under Nazi rule in German-occupied Amsterdam. Now, as their 13-year-old daughter Anne recorded in her diary, her 16-year-old sister, Margot, had been called up for transportation to a German labour camp. "A call-up: everyone knows what that means," Anne wrote. "Visions of concentration camps and lonely cells raced through my head."

That night, their parents made their final preparations for their flight. "Everything was very strange," wrote Anne. At 5.30 the next morning, Mrs Frank woke the girls. Two hours later, wearing as many layers of clothes as they could, the Franks closed their front door for the last time, and walked through the morning rain towards Anne's father's office at 263 Prinsengracht.

Otto Frank, a successful businessman, had prepared a hiding place on the top floor, nicknamed the 'Secret Annex'. Already the tiny space was stuffed with boxes of belongings. "Mother and Margot were unable to move a muscle," wrote Anne. "They lay down on their bare mattresses, tired, miserable and I don't know what else. But Father and I, the two cleaner-uppers in the family, started in right away. All day long we unpacked boxes, filled cupboards, hammered nails and straightened up the mess, until we fell exhausted into our clean beds at night."

For the next two years, until they were caught by the Germans, this would be their home.

Anne c1941, the year before the family moved into concealed rooms at Otto Frank's office





12 JULY 1962

At the Marquee Club in Oxford Street, London, a group of young men play their first concert as a rhythm and blues band, **calling themselves the 'Rollin' Stones'**

Confederate and Union troops go head to head at Gettysburg in this contemporary lithograph. 'Pickett's Charge' was the beginning of the end for the southern war effort



GETTY IMAGES

3 JULY 1863

Lee's gamble fails at Gettysburg

Confederate general urges his troops into suicidal charge that becomes a retreat

On 3 July 1863, the little town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania trembled beneath the hammer-blows of battle. For two days the Confederate commander, Robert E Lee, had urged his huge army to smash through the ranks of their Union adversaries, hoping to drive towards Philadelphia and force the northern states to abandon the American Civil War. So far, however, the Union forces had held out, despite a casualty list running into the tens of thousands.

Now, on the third and crucial day, Lee ordered his men to renew the assault. After a punishing artillery barrage, he instructed Lieutenant General James Longstreet to send nine infantry brigades across open fields directly towards the Union position. Longstreet thought the plan was madness. "General, I have been a soldier all my life," he told Lee. "It is my opinion that no 15,000 men ever arrayed for battle can take that position." But Lee was adamant.

"Up, men, and to your posts!" yelled Major General George Pickett (after whom the assault would come to be named). "Don't forget today that you are from old Virginia!" At about 2pm, the fateful charge began. The Confederates fought manfully, but as Union fire poured down, the attackers' momentum slackened. With a casualty rate of a staggering 50 per cent, they began to fall back, and after barely an hour their assault had become a retreat. The Union forces were too exhausted to mount a counterattack, yet it was clear that Lee's Confederates had gambled and lost.

Later, historians saw Pickett's Charge as the "high-water mark of the Confederacy" – the moment when Gettysburg and the war might have taken another course. And every 14-year-old southern boy, wrote the novelist William Faulkner 85 years later, would still replay the charge in his mind and dream of "Pennsylvania, Maryland, the world, the golden dome of Washington itself to crown with desperate and unbelievable victory the desperate gamble".

26 JULY 1745

Gosden Common near Guildford hosts the **first recorded women's cricket match**, between the villages of Bramley and Hambledon, with both sides dressed in cricketing whites and sporting blue and red ribbons in their hair.

**28 JULY 1821**

After crushing a Spanish imperial army, the Argentine general José de San Martín (left) appears in Lima's Plaza Mayor to **declare the independence of Peru**.

1 JULY 1690

William of Orange wins sectarian brawl at the Boyne

Defeat ends Catholic James's bid to regain English crown

By the summer of 1690, the war for control of Ireland was reaching the moment of truth.

More than a year earlier, the Protestant William of Orange had deposed his Catholic father-in-law, James II and VII, in the Glorious Revolution. But in heavily Catholic Ireland, loyalty to James died hard, and it was no surprise when, in March 1689, he landed from France and raised his standard. William sent troops to suppress him, but they got nowhere. So in June 1690, William himself landed near Belfast to crush the old king once and for all.

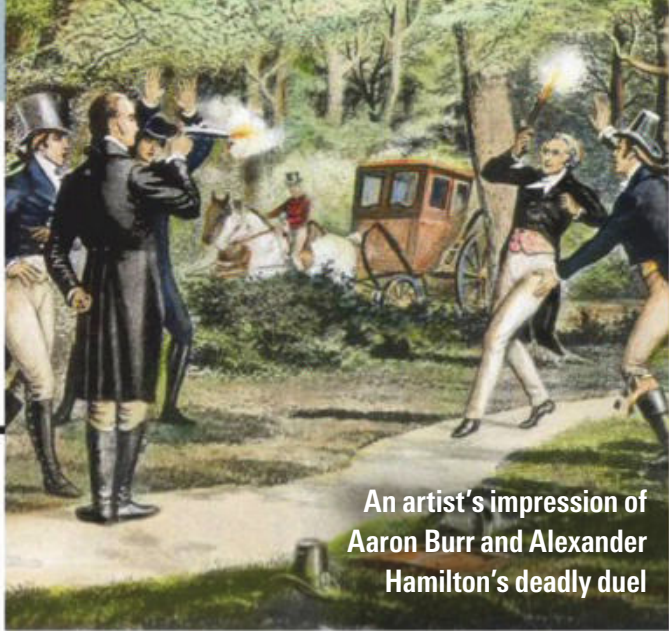
Among William's soldiers was a Huguenot called Gédéon Bonnivert, who caught his first glimpse of the enemy on the last day of June. As Bonnivert recorded, James had drawn up his army on the river Boyne, 30 miles from Dublin. "There we saw the enemy, and were so near them we could hear one another speak, there being nothing but the river between us," he wrote. Some of William's men took potshots across the river, and James's men fired back. "They had not been long at that sport when the king [William], passing by the first troop of guards, the enemy fired two small guns at him. One of the bullets greased the king's coat; then they played on till three of the clock upon us, and shot often men and horses."

The stage seemed set for slaughter. Yet the battle on 1 July was a far damper squib than is often remembered. Thanks to the boggy, undulating terrain, many soldiers barely fired a shot, and although William's men successfully forded the river, counterattacks by James's cavalry ensured that most of his army retreated in good order.

In war, however, momentum is all. Once again, James seemed to have faltered at the crucial moment. To his supporters, his rapid retreat suggested that he lacked backbone, and he shortly fled back to France. And for Ireland's Protestants, the battle of the Boyne became a day of almost sacred significance.



Jan Wyck's painting of William III at the battle of the Boyne. After the clash, James II fled to France



An artist's impression of Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton's deadly duel

11 JULY 1804

Hamilton and Burr meet in dawn duel

Personal animosity reaches a climax as US politicians face off

Early on the morning of 11 July 1804, the most celebrated duellists in American history arrived at the killing ground.

After years of personal tension, two of the young republic's most prominent politicians, Vice President Aaron Burr and former treasury secretary Alexander Hamilton, had decided to settle their differences once and for all.

The background to their duel lay in the animosity between two different factions: the pro-business Federalists, such as Hamilton, who believed in a strong government; and the Democratic-Republicans, such as Burr, who were more suspicious of central authority. But there was a personal dimension, too: as Hamilton wrote, he saw Burr as a "profligate, a voluptuary in the extreme".

In June 1804 Burr issued a formal challenge, and Hamilton accepted. On the designated morning, the two combatants took separate boats from Manhattan across the Hudson river to a woodland clearing in Weehawken, New Jersey. And after their seconds had prepared the ground, they took their places.

Hamilton fired first, his shot passing high into the trees. Then Burr took aim. His lead ball smashed into Hamilton's lower abdomen, just above his hip. When Hamilton's doctor reached him, he was on the ground in his second's arms. "His countenance of death I shall never forget," the doctor wrote. "He had at that instant just strength to say, 'This is a mortal wound, doctor,' when he sunk away, and became to all appearance lifeless."

Hamilton was taken back to New York, but it was no good. He died the next day. **H**

Dominic Sandbrook is a historian and presenter. His Radio 4 show *The Real Summer of Love* is available at Archive on 4

BBC
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WHY WE SHOULD REMEMBER...

The plot to assassinate Hitler and install a new German government

BY **MARY FULBROOK**

On 20 July 1944, Colonel Claus Schenk Count von Stauffenberg attempted to assassinate Adolf Hitler, an act for which he has long been honoured in his homeland, first in West Germany and later in the unified nation. Yet while Stauffenberg and his fellow conspirators, who planned to establish a new regime, were undoubtedly brave, this was hardly the act of democrats. Rather, this was an unsuccessful plot hatched by conservative nationalist aristocrats, pragmatists who feared impending defeat and harked back to older authoritarian traditions. Why, we might well ask, should we celebrate their actions?

In answering that question, we should of course recognise the conspirators' bravery. Stauffenberg, a man disabled by war wounds (blind in one eye, missing his right hand and two fingers on his left), had the courage to plant two bombs in a briefcase, timed to go off as Hitler addressed his entourage in his East Prussian headquarters, the Wolf's Lair. But Stauffenberg detonated only one bomb and, as he left, the briefcase was pushed under a heavy wooden table.

While others lost their lives, Hitler escaped with minor injuries and a ruined pair of trousers. Unaware of this failure, Stauffenberg flew back to Berlin. On arrival, he and close associates were arrested and put to death. Fellow conspirators were perfunctorily executed; others killed themselves. In the ensuing months, thousands more paid with their lives for any sign of dissent.

Yet, looking back, questions linger about why those in elite positions were so slow to act. These were people who had previously sworn an oath of obedience, sustained the Nazi regime, and then claimed it was against their honour to oppose Hitler. A few discussed resistance plans in the late 1930s, but fell silent with early military successes. By the time they acted, tens of millions had died in a senseless war of aggression, and the majority of European Jews had been murdered.

Might it be more fitting to remember the tens of thousands incarcerated for political resistance from 1933? Or individuals such as Georg Elser, a humble Swabian cabinet-maker, who in November 1939 planted a bomb in the Munich beer hall where Hitler annually commemorated the 1923 putsch attempt? Or the Munich students Hans and Sophie Scholl, members of the White Rose group executed in 1943 for their courageous attempts to whip up opposition?

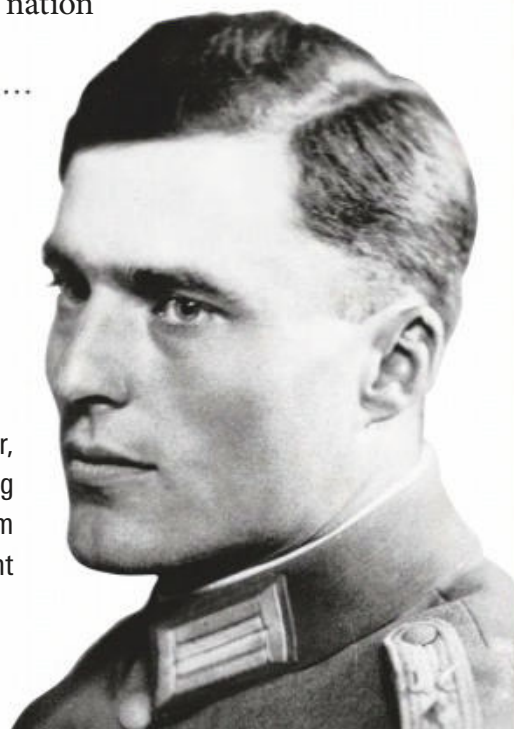
Ultimately, these are false choices. We should remember the July plot not only to pay respects to the courage of those who, belatedly, did stand up against Hitler, but also as a way to consider broader questions about the willingness to resist. About what it takes to have the courage of one's convictions, to speak truth to power, and to say that this is a path down which no civilised nation should go – before it is too late. **H**



Mary Fulbrook's latest book is *Reckonings: Legacies of Nazi Persecution and the Quest for Justice* (OUP, 2018), which has been shortlisted for the 2019 Wolfson History Prize

As a senior officer, Count von Stauffenberg opposed Hitler from within the Wehrmacht

// Why were those in elite positions so slow to act? //



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HIDDEN HISTORIES

DAVID OLUSOGA explores lesser-known stories from our past

// Successive British governments were hostile to 'coloured migration' //

The best-remembered date in the whole story of postwar migration to Britain is 22 June 1948, the day 492 men and women from the Caribbean disembarked from the *Empire Windrush* and stepped ashore at Tilbury. Obscured behind that famous event is a hidden history – one that can be found in formerly classified documents in the vaults of the National Archives at Kew, in London.

One key date in that other history came six weeks before the arrival of the *Windrush*. On 11 May 1948, the British governor in Jamaica sent a telegram to Arthur Creech Jones, colonial secretary in the Labour government of Clement Attlee. It read: "I regret to inform you that more than 350 troop-deck passages by EMPIRE WINDRUSH... have been booked by men who hope to find employment in the United Kingdom. Most of them have no particular skill." That expression of 'regret' was an early indicator of the official hostility successive British governments were to hold towards so-called 'coloured migration' to Britain – a hostility that led, in 1962 and 1971, to the passing of new immigration laws that ultimately sowed the seeds for the Windrush scandal of 2018.

The hidden history of the *Windrush* hinges on the discrepancy between an official, legal definition of Britishness that was in effect colourblind, and an unofficial understanding of who was and who could really become British. The men who governed postwar Britain tended to

believe that only white people could truly be British. These two conceptions of Britishness clashed in 1948 because, as well as being the year *Windrush* arrived, it was also the year parliament passed a new British Nationality Act. The new law reaffirmed old rights, including those of all subjects of the British empire to enter and live in Britain. However, the people who the politicians expected to exercise these rights were white people from the dominions (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, etc), not black and brown people from the so-called 'new commonwealth'. When black people did begin to independently migrate to Britain, opposition within government was so strong that it trumped economic considerations.

In 1946, the Manpower Working Party had calculated that Britain needed an additional 1,346,000 workers. During the war, Britain's infrastructure had been neglected and her industries converted to wartime production. Thousands of homes had been damaged in the Blitz, and yet the human cost of the war and a falling birth rate – an issue politicians regarded as a threat to the nation's wealth and security – meant there were not enough workers for the repairs. To meet the shortage, the government recruited 600,000 eastern Europeans through projects such as the European Voluntary Workers scheme, and made huge efforts to bring more women into the workforce.

Yet even before the *Windrush*'s arrival, it was clear there was another potential source of labour: English-speaking migrants from the Caribbean. They held British passports, some had worked in Britain during the war, and many

possessed the key skills the nation needed. While private businesses, London Transport and the NHS actively recruited in the Caribbean, what the files at Kew reveal is that successive UK governments actively discouraged migration from those islands and, between 1948 and 1971, attempted to draft legislation to prevent 'coloured migration'. Today, we still live with the consequences of the decisions made and laws passed during that postwar period. **H**

Watershed

Caribbean migrants are welcomed at Tilbury on 22 June 1948. Their arrival ushered in a new era of movement to the UK – and prompted official hostility, as newly uncovered documents reveal



David Olusoga is professor of public history at the University of Manchester. His documentary *The Unwanted: The Secret Windrush Files* is due to air on BBC Two soon



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Has Catherine of Aragon too often been painted as a failure?

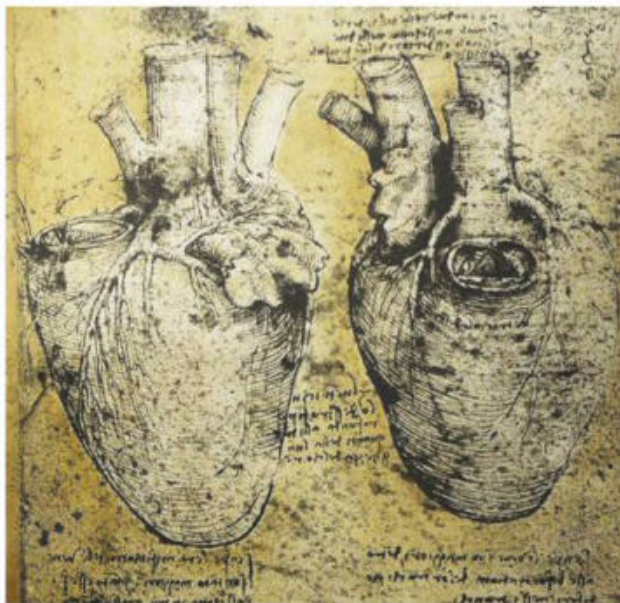
LETTER OF THE MONTH

A genius whose influence endures

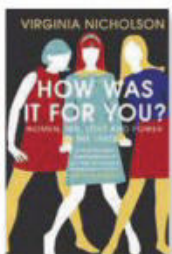
I was overjoyed to read your article about Leonardo da Vinci (*Da Vinci's Vision of the Future*, May). A few years ago I studied a three-month-long module with the Open University dedicated entirely to the great man. I remember reading some astonishing news items on Leonardo. Among them was a BBC News report from September 2005, which stated that a UK surgeon had pioneered a way to repair damaged hearts after looking at Leonardo's drawings.

Doctor Francis Wells from Papworth Hospital in Cambridge successfully treated more than 80 patients after being inspired by Leonardo's sketches. The drawings allowed the heart expert to work out how to better restore normal opening and closing function of the mitral valve (one of the four valves in the heart). I still find it extraordinary that, more than 500 years later, Leonardo's sketches could inspire such a significant new insight.

Kate Hollis, Kent



Leonardo's anatomical studies continue to be an inspiration to doctors and scientists working today



We reward the *Letter of the Month* writer with a copy of a new history book. This issue, that is Virginia Nicholson's *How Was It for You? Women, Sex, Love and Power in the 1960s*. Read the review on page 74.

Henry VIII's equal

What a pleasure to read John Edwards' assessment of Catherine of Aragon in June's edition (*Catherine the Great*). I've long thought that most historians have been unfair in their views of this maligned queen. Too often she is cast in terms of her 'failure' to provide a male heir. Raised and educated to rule, she was tough, persistent, genuinely devout, and much loved by those who knew her and by the public at large.

Another point I think often overlooked is that Henry VIII saw her as perhaps his only 'equal' in England in terms of her birth and undisputed royal status. We are encouraged to think that it was only the protection of her male relatives in Spain that gave Henry pause in his treatment of her in the 1530s, but I would suggest that the character and ability of Catherine herself were important factors.

Tony Neal, Devon

Honour their sacrifice

I recently attended the 75th anniversary of the Great Escape from Stalag Luft III. Together with my sister, Wendy, I was privileged to attend, as our father, Squadron Leader Kenneth Price, was in Luft III and also took part in the Great Escape. He was in Hut 104 on the night of 24 March 1944 and was due to be number 182 to exit the tunnel.

I contest the article by Guy Walters entitled *The Not-So Great Escape* (April) and also the subsequent letter from George Tranter (May) questioning the wisdom of a mass breakout.

My father, who died in 1980, felt it was his duty to help the war effort by trying to escape, as did most in the camp. Hence the objective to get out as many as possible with the prime objective to get home, but also to tie down German resources in their search for the escapees. In October 2017, I was also privileged to interview Flight Lieutenant Jack Lyon, who was 100 at the time and sadly died six weeks ago. He was also in Luft III and number 78 to come out of the tunnel. He too concurred that the Great Escape was right, in spite of the loss of life.

So let us not forget the sacrifices these men made. Hindsight is great, but none of us were there to experience the feeling of being behind barbed wire with no end in sight.

Alistair Price, Warwickshire

English bias?

I've been a subscriber for several years and find the magazine interesting and informative. However, I feel that many of the articles

are highly Anglo-centric and ignore events in other parts of the British Isles.

The article *Are We Still Living in Thatcher's Britain?* (May) is the latest example of this. The piece surprisingly makes no mention of the impact that Thatcher's policies (such as the Poll Tax) had in Scotland. The electoral rise of the SNP and the growth of the wider independence movement, which may well lead to the break-up of the United Kingdom, can be traced back to the Thatcher years.

David Petrie, Glasgow



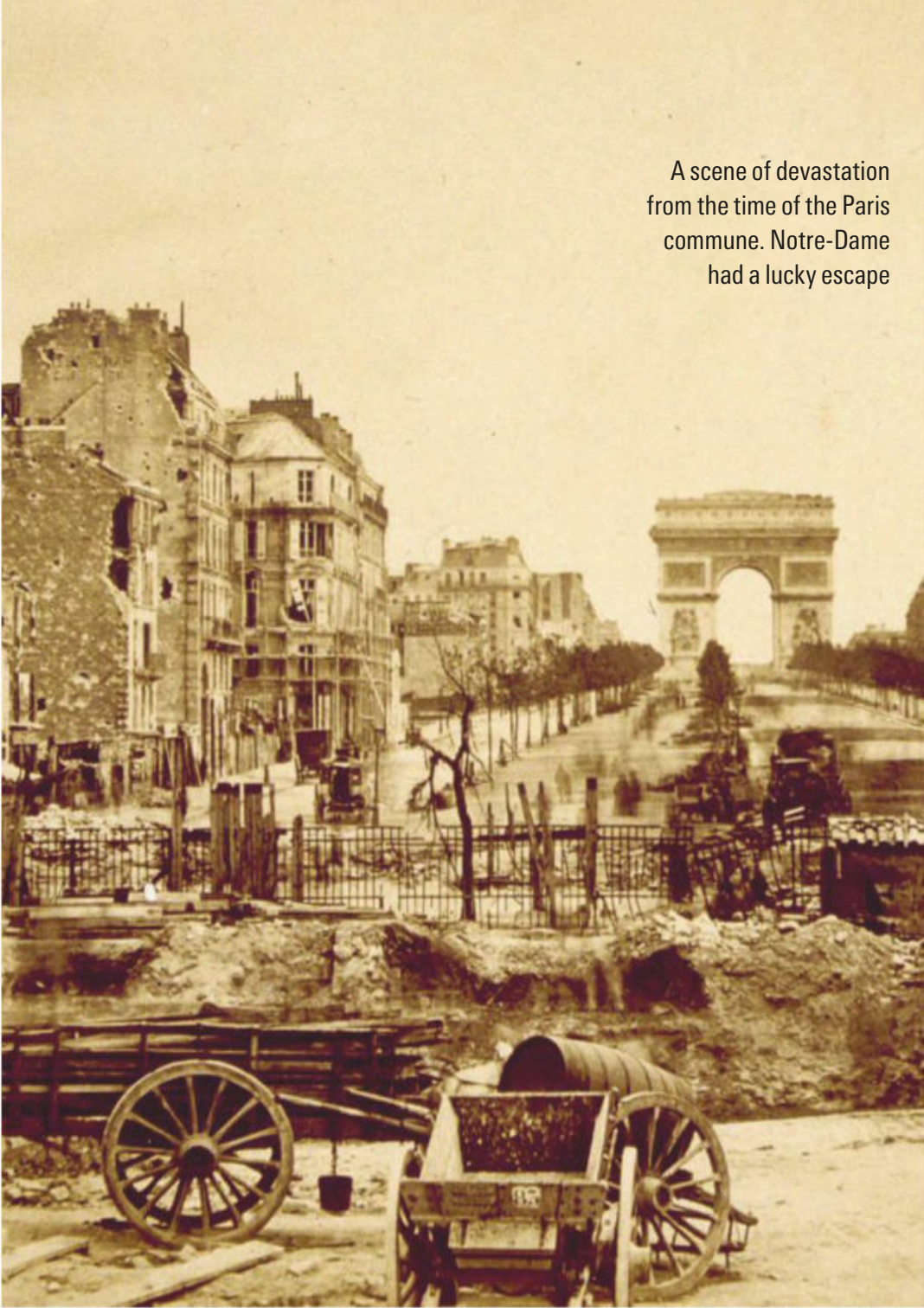
SDP politician Roy Jenkins in Glasgow, 1982. Margaret Thatcher's policies had a sizeable impact on Scotland

The legacy of pit closures

I read *Are We Still Living in Thatcher's Britain?* with interest. I would point your readers to Tony Parker's *Red Hill: A Mining Community* and ask if any of those interviewed for the book would think living in Thatcher's Britain 30 years later is a reassuring thing? Thatcher's systematic destruction of the northern mining communities resonates even today.

While your correspondent Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite states "the eventual decline of coal was inevitable", she also points out that "managed rundown [in Germany and others] brought much less social dislocation". That's something that was beyond Thatcher's capabilities.

Austin Baird, Northumberland



A scene of devastation from the time of the Paris commune. Notre-Dame had a lucky escape

A cathedral's close call

Emma J Wells's excellent article on the tribulations of Notre-Dame (*How Notre-Dame Endures*, June) did not mention another very lucky escape. In 1871, the Paris Commune ruled the city for 70 days and around 20,000 people died as they battled with troops to keep control. One of the Commune's big ideas was to destroy all official buildings connected to the monarchy and the empire. They torched the Tuileries Palace, the Hotel de Ville and many others. Notre-Dame was next and its pews were already heaped up in a pyre to help start the blaze. Luckily the army from Versailles got to it before they could set it alight.

I imagined its close shave in my novel *Leonie and the Last Napoleon*, where a crazed criminal is about to torch the pews but is killed in the act by the arrival of a Versailles officer. It could well have happened like that.

Tony Boullemier, Northampton

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Vol 20 No 7 – July 2019
BBC History Magazine is published by Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited under licence from BBC Studios who help fund new BBC programmes.

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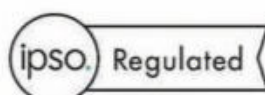
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Royal at arms

In a 14th-century manuscript, Henry III (left) is shown fighting his nobles during the Second Barons' War (1264–67). This was both a revolutionary war and, from the perspective of Henry's foes, a religious conflict too

The barons' crusade for **a new England**

The nobleman Simon de Montfort saw himself as a righteous general leading his army into a holy war. As **Sophie Thérèse Ambler** recounts, not only did he fight infidels overseas but, in the 1260s, he also challenged the authority of the crown on home soil



As the darkness seeped away into the dawn, the army reached the crest of the hill and the men put down their packs. Each of them wore on his chest and shoulder an insignia: the cross. They were *crucesignati*, crusaders. Before they set out on their march through the early hours, a bishop had promised them remission of their sins if they fought hard in the hours to come. Now, as they readied for battle, they turned to listen to their leader. They were fighting today, he told them, for the honour of God, the saints and the church. May the Lord, he prayed, grant them the strength to do his work and overcome the wickedness of all enemies. Finally, he commended to God their bodies, and their souls. Then the men, in their thousands, sank to the ground. Laying their faces against the earth, they stretched out their arms, sending their own prayers for heavenly aid.

They went on to fight, and to win, that morning. Their battle, though, was not fought amid the arid mounts and plains of the Holy Land, but on a hillside in Sussex. Their enemy not the Muslim infidel, but the monarch of England. This was a new sort of holy war, for their objective was neither the taking of

sacred ground nor the preservation of the Christian faith. It was a new way of ruling England, a way that had no effective place for kings. Their leader was Simon de Montfort – and his victory that day in May 1264 in the battle of Lewes would make him the most powerful man in the kingdom.

The movement had begun six years before, in the spring of 1258. A band of seven noblemen, de Montfort among them, had donned their armour and marched on Westminster Hall. Their threat was clear: Henry III must hand over the reins of power or they would take them by force. The threat struck home. “What is this, my lords?” the king had cried. “Am I, poor wretch, your captive?”

The nobles went on to set up a council of 15, which took control of the machinery of central government – the exchequer and chancery – and the instruments of royal power in the shires: the king’s castles and the sheriffs. The council would rule with the help of parliament. This had hitherto been summoned only at the king’s wish (usually when he needed consent to raise a tax) but was now to meet, come what may, three times a year to help make decisions about the running of the kingdom. These measures, and those that followed, came to be known as the Provisions



Simon de Montfort’s seal. The 6th Earl of Leicester briefly exerted more power in England than King Henry III



Power struggle

Baronial troops clash with Henry III's forces in the battle of Lewes. Following his victory in the hills of Sussex, Simon de Montfort took charge of a radical new regime with a parliament at its heart



Clash of faiths King Baldwin II of Jerusalem engages Muslim forces in 1119. The Second Barons' War saw troops replicating the ideals of the crusades – and fighting a 'holy war' – on English soil for the very first time

of Oxford, after the parliament in the summer of 1258 at which they were drafted.

The Provisions were nothing short of radical. Medieval Europe was accustomed to protests against improper royal rule in the form of rebellions, but those were demands for the restoration of good government by the king. This was the first attempt to overturn the political system, doing away with monarchy as a means of ruling and, in early 1265, producing the first parliament to which representatives of the towns were summoned. It was the first revolution in England's – or indeed in Europe's – history.

Low-key monarch

Yet, there was nothing in Henry III's rule that warranted such drastic measures. Henry, unlike his father, King John, did not rule with disregard for the law and was not cruel – indeed, he was devout, generous and tolerant towards his nobles. But Henry was *simplex*, a term used by his subjects to mean that he lacked political nous and was easily led. In 1258, frustration with Henry's simplicity peaked when he demanded a tax to fund his proposed conquest of Sicily – an eye-wateringly expensive venture about which his subjects had not been consulted – and failed to bring to heel his half-brothers, the Lusignans, who

were perpetrating illegal and insulting attacks on their fellow magnates. But in the historical parade of tyrannical or disastrous rulers, Henry III's reign hardly ranked at all. There was no clear reason to turn to radical action. The barons did so, it seems, in the heat of the moment, as tensions and tempers flared in the crucible of a particularly rowdy parliament.

But even if de Montfort's regime was hard to justify rationally, reasons soon emerged to preserve it. First, the council set out to provide justice to the numberless women and men of low status who had suffered under Henry's rule (for the king, unable to extract the money he needed from his nobles, had borne down upon those who could not resist). The council introduced a stream of measures to alleviate their suffering and to offer them ready access to justice, so that the royal officers responsible for their maltreatment could be called to account. The ruling nobles also imposed upon themselves the same standards of good government that they demanded of the king – and offered the same right of redress to their own subjects.

There was a second moral buttress to the Provisions, too: an oath. At the Oxford parliament, all (except the Lusignans) vowed to support each other in defence of the

**De Montfort
headed the
first revolution
in England's
– or indeed
in Europe's –
history**

Provisions. This was a sacred promise, made in the sight of God, and it required the staking of one's soul.

It was this sense of sacred commitment that brought Simon de Montfort to the fore. It was de Montfort who seems to have driven the legal and social reforms, and insisted that magnates hold themselves to the new moral standard, and it was he who reminded those who wavered of their oath. He was "moved to rage" (as the chronicler Matthew Paris reports) at the Earl of Gloucester for hesitating to implement the reforms in his estates. "I have no desire," he told his fellow noble, "to live or keep company amongst people so inconstant and false. What we are doing now we agreed and swore together."

To emulate his father

In presenting the situation in these terms, de Montfort set in train the transformation of the rebels' political programme: it would become a *holy* cause, for which he and his men would go on to offer their lives. In a culture that valued armed devotion to God and the church almost above all else, it was an alluring proposition.

But such fervour had a dark side – with terrible consequences, in particular, for England's Jewish population. The year before the battle of Lewes, the Montfortians, seeking funds for their campaign and giving vent to their hatred, launched a frenzied attack on the Jewish people of London. "Sparing neither age nor sex", as the chronicler Thomas Wykes reports, they "inhumanly butchered the aged and elderly... children wailing in the cradle, babies not yet weaned hanging from their mother's breast". Independent reports suggest that between 400 and 500 were killed. The massacre was part of a developing pattern in which Jewish people were persecuted systematically, but its furious nature was probably the result of crusading fervour.

For all its brutality, it was this fervour that gave de Montfort's sentiments their wide appeal (attracting not only noblemen but bishops, monks, friars and many people from society's lowest ranks to the cause). But as for de Montfort himself, his inspiration was personal – and it came from his father.

Simon de Montfort the elder, known to his followers simply as the Count, was elected leader of the Albigensian Crusade in 1209, charged with commanding the expedition against the Cathar heretics of Languedoc. The Count has been widely vilified, although this reflects subsequent attitudes more than medieval ones. (Modern audiences tend to be disturbed more by the killing of white Europeans than of Muslims of the



A stained glass window in St Lawrence's Church, Evesham, shows Simon de Montfort before going into battle

De Montfort transformed the rebellion into a holy cause, for which he and his men would go on to offer their lives

Middle East). In his own time, the Count was greatly admired for his prowess and dedication to the holy cause, and was even chosen in 1212 by the barons of England plotting to replace King John. To de Montfort, who grew up listening to stories of his father's deeds, the Count was a hero.

There was one element of the Count's character that was emphasised above everything else in these stories: he held true to his oath to fight the holy war no matter what suffering he had to endure, while lesser men, those who were faithless, timid or selfish, abandoned their oaths and abandoned the Count. As de Montfort the elder's story was committed to parchment, and tales of his heroic deeds were sung in the family's feasting hall after his death, this became a model for leadership in holy war. The

Count's children, de Montfort the younger among them, were being exhorted to live up to his example.

And so when de Montfort the younger became leader of his own holy cause, he looked to his father's memory for inspiration and appealed to this model of

leadership, casting himself as indefatigable in his dedication and denouncing those who failed to keep their oath to the Provisions. When many of his allies submitted to the king in 1261, he reportedly proclaimed "that he would rather die without land, than withdraw from the truth as a perjurer". After his great victory at the battle of Lewes, the song composed to celebrate his victory emphasised his unparalleled commitment: "Hence can they, who readily swear and hesitate little to reject what they swear... estimate with how great care they ought to preserve their oath, when they see a man flee neither torment nor death, for the sake of his oath... Woe to the wretched perjurers, who fear not God, denying him for the hope of earthly reward, or fear of prison or of a light penalty."

There was a final example set for de Montfort to follow. The Count had been killed fighting his holy war in 1218 (his head was smashed open by a boulder from a trebuchet while besieging Toulouse), and other Montfort men were killed in the same campaign: the Count's brother and the Count's second son, Gui. De Montfort's eldest brother, Amaury, survived this expedition only to die in 1241 on his way home from the Holy Land.

This extraordinary rate of attrition was the result of the Montfort family's dedication to holy war. Death for noblemen was unlikely in European conflict between Christians at this time, because the values of chivalry protected those of knightly status and they would normally be taken captive for ransom. In holy war, whether in Languedoc or the Middle East, killing regardless of status was expected and the risk of knightly death was accepted. As de Montfort took up his oath-bound cause in England, and transformed that cause into a crusade, he did so knowing that death in holy war was a family tradition. And, just 15 months after his triumph at Lewes, he would follow in the footsteps of his martyred family members, in the expectation of a martyr's reward.

Rebels brought to heel

Since the battle of Lewes, the Montfortian council had been ruling England, holding captive the king and his eldest son, Edward (the future King Edward I). But fortunes turned suddenly in the spring of 1265 when Edward escaped. He raised an army and, on 4 August 1265, caught up with the Montfortians at Evesham. He quickly secured the high ground; de Montfort's army, caught unawares, faced the dismal prospect of fighting, outnumbered, uphill. While withdrawal was still possible, he reportedly told his men to flee: "Fair lords, there are many

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Gullible monarch

Henry III – shown visiting France in a 14th-century illustration – was a generous king, but lacked political nous and was easily led



Dying for the cause

A fragment of Simon de Montfort the elder's original tomb, from the basilica of St Nazaire in Carcassonne. This depicts the siege of Toulouse of 1218, at which he was killed. It's thought that one of the figures in the top-right corner could be an angel taking de Montfort's soul to heaven



Blood and guts

The 14th-century *Rochester Chronicle* shows Simon de Montfort's body being dismembered following the battle of Evesham

among you who are not as yet tried and tested in the world, and who are young; you have wives and children, and for this reason look to how you might save yourselves and them.” Turning to his old friend Hugh Despenser, he urged him to withdraw. Hugh could recover his position, for he would leave behind him “hardly anyone of such great value and worth”. Hugh did not hesitate in his reply: “My lord, my lord, let it be. Today we shall drink from one cup, as we have done long since.”

Carnage and cruelty

In the battle, Hugh would be cut down, one of the host of knights, together with thousands of non-noble troops, who chose to follow de Montfort to the end. That morning Edward had selected his 12 best men, who were charged with killing de Montfort on the battlefield. This calculated brutality continued after de Montfort's death. Edward's men set upon his corpse, cutting off his hands, his feet and his head, and cutting off his testicles and stuffing them into his mouth. His head was dispatched as a prize to the wife of the man who struck the lethal blow.

The barbarity did not end there. When the battle was lost, de Montfort's men attempted to take shelter in Evesham Abbey, but Edward's men broke the laws of sanctuary and hacked them down. “What was horrendous to see,” recalled one of the monks of the ghastly scene that confronted him, “the choir of the church and the inside walls and the cross and the statues and the altars were sprayed with the blood of the wounded and dead, so that from the bodies that were there around the high altar a stream of blood ran right down into the crypts... no one knew how many there were except God.”

No such battlefield slaughter had been seen in England since Hastings. The massacring of de Montfort and his fellow nobles was a mark of their transgression, for stepping far beyond the bounds of noble conduct

Edward's men set upon de Montfort's corpse, cutting off his testicles and stuffing them into his mouth

when they trampled on the crown. But it was also tied up in a monumental change in military culture: the descent into intra-noble killing, on and off the battlefield. This would see terrible results, too, in the Sicilian wars of the 1260s–80s – indeed, in 1271, two of de Montfort's sons would avenge their father's death by butchering Henry of Almain, Henry III's nephew, in the church of San Silvestro in Viterbo. Such intra-noble brutality would also be repeated in the British Isles in the Wars of Independence, and across Europe in the Hundred Years' War.

De Montfort's story is key to understanding how this happened, for his elevation of a political struggle to the level of holy war was part of a larger phenomenon. In the 1250s and 1260s, the papacy launched a preaching campaign across Europe to raise an army of crusaders to attack the Hohenstaufen dynasty (whose territorial expansion threatened papal power in Italy), while the papal legate sent to oust de Montfort's regime was authorised to offer indulgences to those fighting for the English crown.

Men were now being told that taking up arms against fellow Christians was not only acceptable but laudable, and would gain them the same spiritual rewards as fighting in the Holy Land. If that was the case, was *killing* fellow Christians, regardless of status, equally acceptable? For two and a half centuries, the mental and geographical boundaries governing the conduct of war had been coterminous. Now, with no guidance as to which rules applied where and when, they began to disintegrate. It meant the death of chivalry, at least in the form that it had been known since the turn of the millennium. **H**



A carved-stone entrance in Evesham Abbey, where de Montfort's supporters sought shelter, only to be brutally hacked down by Prince Edward's men

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Sophie Thérèse Ambler's latest book is *The Song of Simon de Montfort: England's First Revolutionary and the Death of Chivalry* (Picador, May 2019). She is speaking at both our History Weekends: historyextra.com/events



History in the making

75 YEARS ON FROM THE REMARKABLE EVENTS OF D-DAY, THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH RED CROSS IS FAR FROM FORGOTTEN

The 6 June this year marked the 75th anniversary of D-Day, when Allied forces landed in Normandy and opened up a Western Front in Europe. D-Day was the largest seaborne invasion in history, and – combined with a major Soviet push on the Eastern Front – helped bring the war in Europe to an end the following year.

Working closely with the American and Canadian Red Crosses, the British Red Cross was quick to respond to D-Day. Extensive supplies were sent to southern ports following the invasion in preparation for supporting the sick and wounded soldiers who were being evacuated back to southern England.

Once the invasion was underway, Red Cross societies coordinated to ensure that they arrived in Normandy on 7 July,

a month after the initial landing, but before the breakout from the beachheads. British Red Cross teams were quickly assigned to field hospitals, offering not just medical supplies and support for the wounded but also morale-boosting comforts, from jam to books and chess sets.

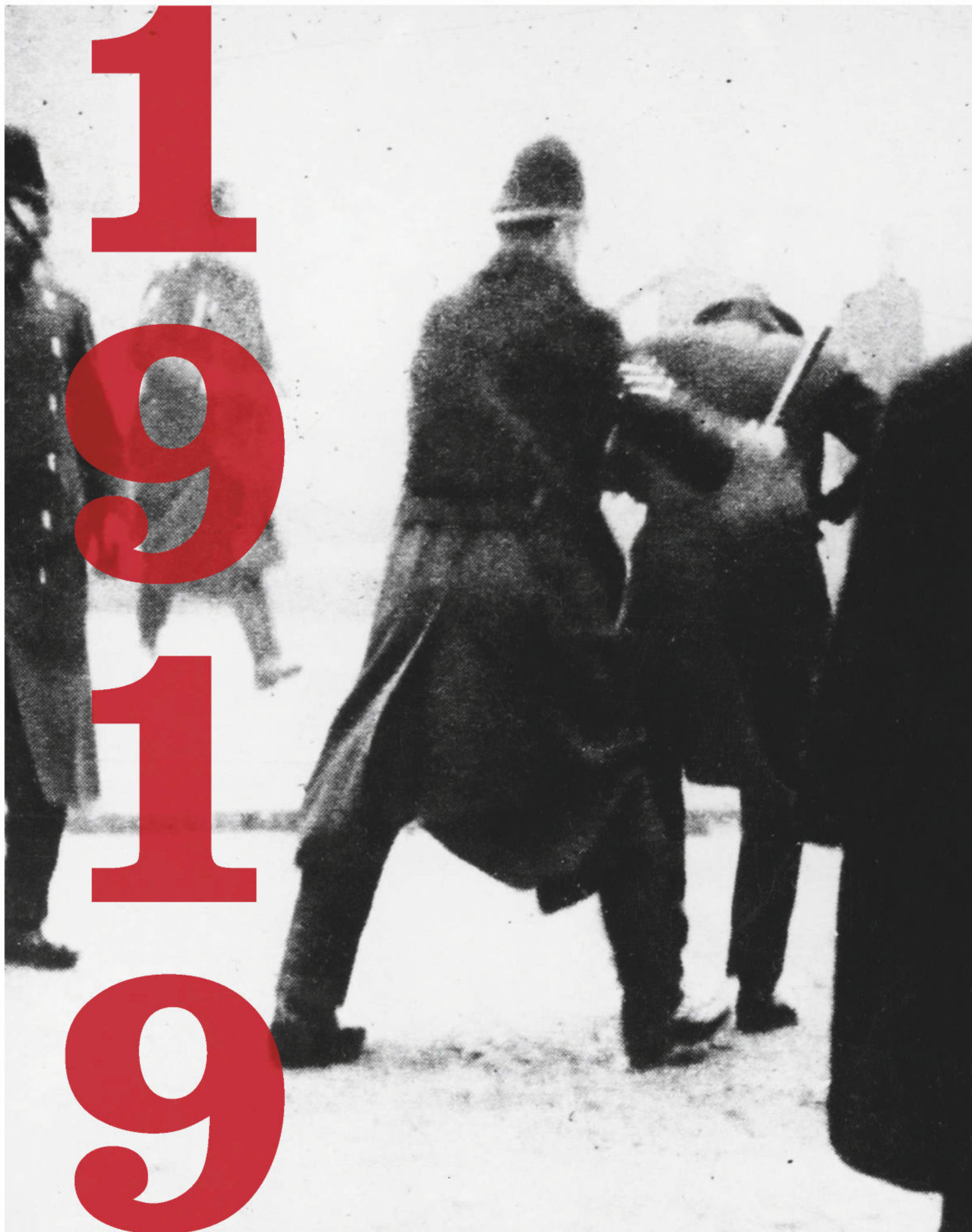
The conditions were difficult and primitive. Convoys of wounded soldiers arrived at all hours, and it was common for Red Cross staff to be woken up at 2am for duty in a draughty tent, where they served tea while the servicemen waited to be seen by a medical officer. Despite the grim reality, all sources attest to the cheerfulness and dedication of these British Red Cross volunteers, as well as the key role they played in supporting the sick and injured in their time of need.

LEAVE YOUR OWN LEGACY

The work carried out by the British Red Cross is as essential today as it was in 1944. It's thanks to the generosity of its supporters that the charity can always be ready to help those in crisis – whether they're on the other side of the world or on your own street. By leaving a gift to the British Red Cross in your will, you can leave a lasting legacy and ensure this vital charity can continue to support vulnerable people for many years to come.



For more information about supporting the British Red Cross with a gift in your will and the Free Will scheme, visit redcross.org.uk/freewill or call 0300 500 0401





BRITAIN'S **RED** SUMMER

A century ago, Britain was convulsed by race riots, mutinies and violent strikes.

Clifford Williamson tells the story of a summer when the government was haunted by the fear of Bolshevik revolution

Over the August bank holiday weekend of 1919 the super-dreadnought HMS *Valiant* and two escorts sailed from Gibraltar to the mouth of the river Mersey just outside Liverpool. This was not, however, a holiday treat for the locals to see the pride of the Royal Navy anchor in their city. *Valiant* was there in support of the army, which had been sent into Liverpool to put down three nights of serious rioting. The disorder had been triggered by a strike of the Merseyside police that, as the *Daily Mail* put it, had left the city in the hands of “the hooligan element”.

By the time that the unrest had died down, a thousand soldiers had been drafted into Liverpool and had made repeated bayonet charges to dispel the crowds. More than 600 people were arrested, over £100,000 (£7m in 2019) worth of damage done. Journalists likened the Scotland Road area, where most of

the rioting took place, to the First World War battlefield of Ypres.

The Liverpool riot was just one of many instances of violence and disorder to punctuate Britain’s ‘Red Summer’ of 1919. From Glasgow to Southampton, from Cork to London unrest swept the nation as workers, demobilised soldiers, and even the police, took to the streets to seek redress for grievances – and, in some cases, to foment revolution.

The authorities saw the disorder not as a response to the slow pace of demobilisation, or the disorientation caused by the end of four years of war, but as a deadly shadow of Bolshevism – the same Bolshevism that had upturned the social order in Russia just two years earlier.

The British government was already deeply immersed in efforts to overthrow the Bolsheviks in Russia through the dispatch of an expeditionary force to the Russian mainland, and by using the Royal Navy to blockade the Baltic. In fact, the prime minister, David Lloyd George, saw Great Britain as a “barrier against Bolshevism”. At home the authorities grew increasingly paranoid that any outbreak of disorder was a precursor to a red revolution. One MP, Alfred Short, even tried to get the publication of the book *Speeches by Lenin* banned under the Defence of the Realm Acts.

Liverpool may have been the epicentre of the violence but it was in Glasgow that the unrest that plagued 1919 had begun. On 31 January 1919, hundreds of protesters, many from the huge Parkhead Forge in the east end of the city and the shipyards of the Clyde, massed in the centre to demonstrate over low

Crackdown

A police officer uses his baton on a protester in Glasgow, 1919. Such was the scale of the disturbances in the city that David Lloyd George ordered in troops and tanks

The authorities grew increasingly paranoid that any outbreak of disorder was a precursor to a red revolution

Britain's red summer



Seeing red

Striking workers – one of them holding the red flag of revolution – crowd into Glasgow's George Square. Their grievances included low wages and long working hours



Calm before a storm

Cardiff docks, c1910. War would transform the ethnic mix of Britain's dock workers, leading to a surge in unrest when demobilised soldiers returned in 1919

wages and long working hours. Soon the protesters were clashing with police. The lord provost, fearing a Bolshevik-style revolution (red flags were waving in the square in front of the chambers), sought help from Lloyd George, who dispatched the army, supported by tanks, to quell the unrest.

Future Labour cabinet minister Emanuel Shinwell, who was arrested and convicted of inciting riot, described the actions of some sections of the police as “deplorable”. However there were also those who deplored the actions of the strikers. One recently repatriated prisoner of war wrote to the *Glasgow Herald*: “I only wish these same disturbers of the peace, these selfish irresponsible hooligans, had had a taste of what our boys in France... had to suffer.”

Soviet-style council

Glasgow wasn't alone in witnessing serious disorder in January 1919. Five hundred miles south, at a British military camp near Calais, a group of soldiers set up a soviet-style council after springing one of their colleagues,

imprisoned for making a “seditions speech”, out of jail. Within a few days, an estimated 20,000 men had mutinied. The mutineers were protesting at the conditions in the camp – especially lack of food – as well as the glacial pace of demobilisation. The mutiny would end on 30 January with some concessions.

As events in Glasgow demonstrated, simmering tensions over demobilisation and the future of jobs and wages pervaded British cities. To these grievances could be added two more toxic ingredients: fears over the role of immigrant labour, and resentment over sexual relations between white women and men from ethnic minorities.

West Indian and Chinese labour had been recruited in many ports across the UK to make up for the loss of workers to war service and the extra demand created by war work. But now these soldiers were returning home – by July 1919, 1,300 of Cardiff's 2,000 registered unemployed were demobilised troops. “We went to France and when we came back foreigners have got our jobs and we can't get rid of them,” complained one unemployed



former soldier in Cardiff in July 1919. And it was in the docklands of south Wales – especially in Newport, Barry and the Welsh capital – that these grievances were to explode into violence in the early summer of 1919.

The first disorder broke out on 6 June in Newport, where a fight over alleged insults against a white woman by a foreign man escalated into the vandalism of local Greek and Chinese businesses. There were 22 arrests and mounted police were called in to restore order.

The following week, a gang of white men attacked a group of West Indians walking with their white wives in Cardiff. It was alleged that the women were former prostitutes, and the white men their ex-pimps, enraged at losing the women to men of different ethnicities. The incident sparked three days of violence, and one death, in the Welsh capital.

“We went to France and when we came back foreigners have got our jobs,” railed one unemployed former soldier

The last supper

Soldiers of the Manchester Regiment queue for their final dinner in Germany in November 1919. Thousands of demobilised troops joined the ranks of the unemployed on their return to Britain



In Liverpool, a fight between rival black and white foreign seamen escalated into a full-scale riot, as white Liverpoolians revolted over familiar anxieties: unemployment and interracial relationships. A number of black seamen were robbed during the disturbances, which suggests that jealousy of the perceived affluence of foreign sailors was a motivating factor in the unrest.

The British government's response to this rising tide of racist violence was swift. Within a matter of months it had instituted a programme of repatriation that, by 1921, resulted in hundreds of foreign workers being forcibly returned to their nations of origin. Legislation designed to limit the employment of West Indian labour followed in 1925.

Police flashpoint

The most serious disorder of the Red Summer was triggered not by racial tensions but by disgruntled Liverpool police officers who, as July turned into August, decided to walk out on strike. They were responding to a call for industrial action by the National Union of Police and Prison Officers (NUPPO) over recognition of a police union and deteriorating wages and conditions. Police wages had fallen relative to other professions during the First World War: in 1917, a police constable's weekly wage of £2 8s was significantly less than the £3 10s that other skilled workers could expect to earn. And, due to the

A WORLD OF UNREST

Britain wasn't the only nation to be rocked by disorder in 1919



Members of the National Guard question an African-American man in Chicago, 1919

Big trouble in China

In May 1919, 3,000 students marched to Beijing's Gate of Heavenly Peace to protest the Paris treaty that set the peace terms following the First World War, which saw the nation largely snubbed by western allies and the region of Shandong given to Japan.

The demonstrators trashed a number of buildings, and organised boycotts of Japanese goods. The protests would change the course of Chinese history, helping to radicalise two future Chinese leaders, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai.

America's red scare

The United States experienced a year of civil, social and racial turmoil, which saw Seattle brought to a standstill by a general strike, dozens dying in brutal race riots and letter bombs being sent to public figures.

One of those figures, Attorney General A Mitchell Palmer, launched raids on anarchists and communists, which resulted in more than 20,000 people being deported to the Soviet Union. The raids were part of the first Red Scare in the US and brought J Edgar Hoover – future FBI director – to public consciousness.



Students burn Japanese goods at Beijing's Tsinghua University



Mounties charge down a Winnipeg Street during "the most famous riot in Canadian history", 1919

Canada's 'bloody Sunday'

In the summer of 1919, a general strike in the city of Winnipeg turned into the most famous riot in Canadian history. For 36 days local workers, including many demobilised veterans, brought Winnipeg to a standstill.

Local transport company officials tried to break the strike by hiring blacklegs to operate streetcars, leading to clashes with strikers. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police restored order – but not before, on Sunday 21 June, they had fired on the crowd, killing a protester.

Brutal killings in Berlin

On 4 January, Berlin was plunged into chaos when elements of the German Communist Party (KPD) rose up against the country's Social Democrat (SPD)-led government.

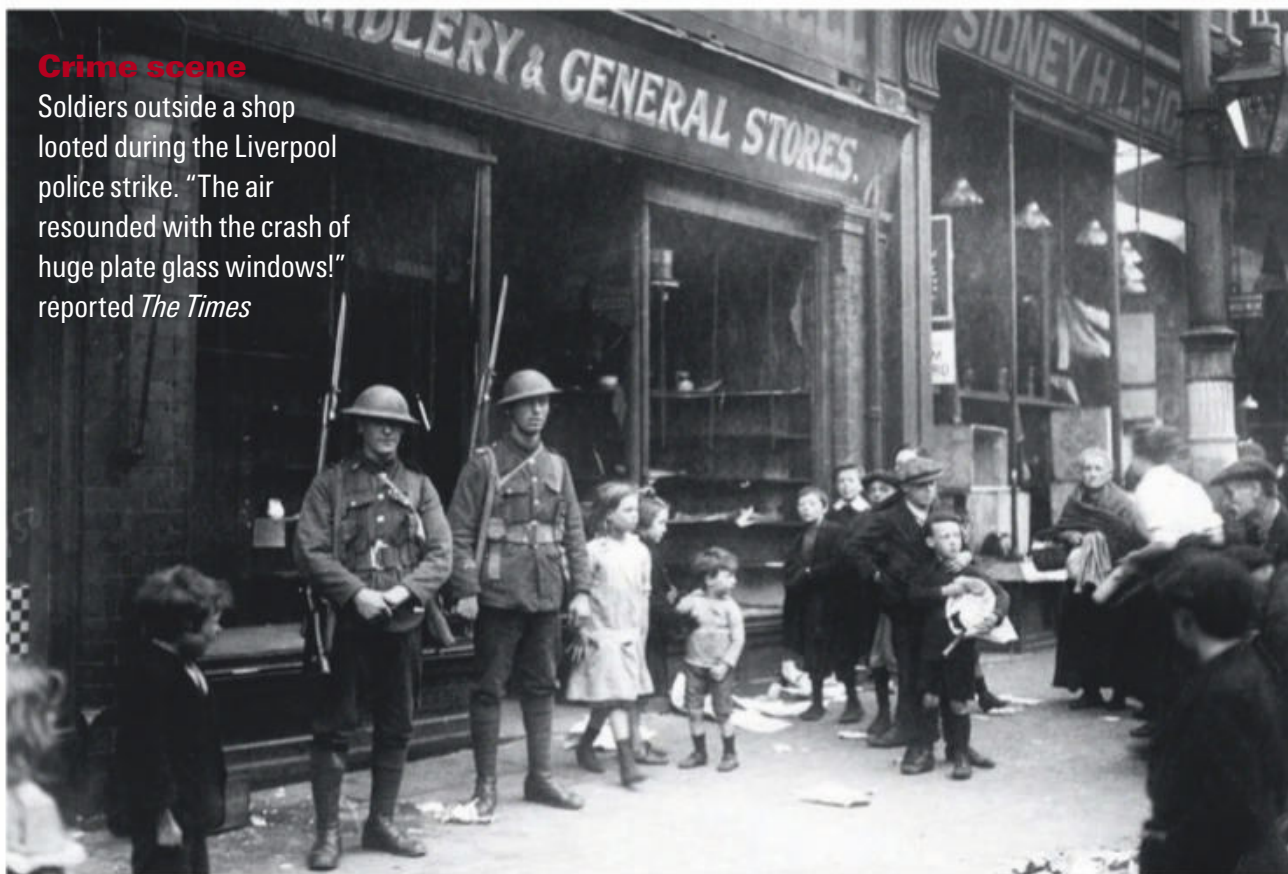
The chaos in the capital led SPD chancellor Friedrich Ebert to seek support from the rightwing Freikorps, who meted out extrajudicial punishments on the leaders of the KPD. Among these targeted were Rosa Luxemburg (who had initially opposed the uprising) and Karl Liebknecht. Luxemburg was beaten to death and Liebknecht shot in the back of the head.



Berliners mark the 66th anniversary of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg's murders, 1985

Crime scene

Soldiers outside a shop looted during the Liverpool police strike. "The air resounded with the crash of huge plate glass windows!" reported *The Times*



Bayonet charges, the use of armoured cars, the reading of the Riot Act... all failed to quell the disturbances

non-striking police and special constables, with the army in the rear, that the looting subsided and the strike collapsed.

The government used a mix of a carrot and stick to head off a new wave of police strikes. It introduced an improved pay scale with a starting salary of £3 10s per week – rising to £4 10s with experience – and granted the force an official body, the 'Police Federation', to represent rank and file officers. However, it also imposed a ban on industrial action by the police, which is still enforced today, and dismissed all officers who, in the words of Home Secretary Edward Shortt, had "mutinied". Many were blacklisted from any future employment.

The Liverpool police strike was the last great outbreak of disorder in mainland Britain's Red Summer of 1919. The acceleration of demobilisation and the rapid return of servicemen to civilian jobs – often displacing women who had held them during wartime – brought temporary calm to the industrial and political landscape.

But tensions remained. As Vladimir Lenin, leader of the new Soviet Union, championed an international communist revolution, the British security services began to spy upon and infiltrate radical groups. The spectre of Bolshevism would remain a powerful rallying point for the authorities into the 1920s and beyond.

Swathes of Britain's working class also contemplated a deeply uncertain future. This was especially the case for the country's miners who – after enjoying greater equality in wages and working hours during the First World War, as the industry effectively went into temporary public control – looked on with growing anger as these benefits were withdrawn. The debate on the miners' future would ultimately lead to the General Strike of 1926.

The mutinies may have ended. Soldiers may have returned to work. A Bolshevik coup may have been averted. But Britain remained a nation at war with itself. **H**

Clifford Williamson is a lecturer in history at Bath Spa University



Lawful dismissal

London policemen, sacked for going out on strike, return their uniforms on a cart in August 1919. Many were permanently blacklisted from employment

haemorrhaging of police officers to the armed forces, they had lost a weekly rest day.

The government had been caught on the hop by a police strike in 1918, but this time it was prepared, threatening those who walked out with dismissal. Sir Nevil Macready, the chief constable of the Met, declared that the strike "must be smashed once and for all time; otherwise, I do not think you will ever have any peace with the police of this country".

Macready's threat resulted in a collapse of the strike everywhere... except in Liverpool, where longstanding grievances over conditions, hours, promotions and wages had bred a unique brand of militancy. The

result was the disappearance of police officers from swathes of the city and – on Friday 1 August, at the start of a bank holiday weekend – the outbreak of widespread looting.

The looters sacked clothes shops, general stores, department stores and even musical instrument stores. Premises that sold alcoholic drinks were a particular target. As *The Times* correspondent put it: "The air resounded with the crash of huge plate glass windows!"

Repeated bayonet charges by soldiers, the use of armoured cars, the reading of the Riot Act by a local magistrate... all failed to quell the disturbances. In fact, it was only on Sunday, after a massed baton charge by

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Georgian ghost hoaxes



Terror of the supernatural was widespread in 18th-century Britain.

Martha McGill serves up five examples of opportunists exploiting that fear for their own (often nefarious) ends – from committing robbery to spreading religious hate

ILLUSTRATIONS BY **BEN JONES**

Immortal danger

In 1733, as part of a plot to blow up a Protestant church, a group of Catholics claimed they were being terrorised by a poltergeist... or so the story went

FEUDS

Scratching Fanny's quest for revenge

The 18th century may be known as the Age of Enlightenment but that doesn't mean that Britons' fear of the supernatural had passed into history. On the contrary, many of our Georgian ancestors regarded the threat of the paranormal as real and terrifying – and that left them vulnerable to the ghost hoax.

Such hoaxes saw people pretending to be ghosts – or fabricating ghost stories – in order to advance their own interests. Those interests included spreading religious hate, securing the dream marriage... and, in the case of a London clerk called Richard Parsons, exacting revenge.

In 1759, Parsons let a room in a house in Cock Lane to a widower called William Kent, who was accompanied by Fanny Lynes, his dead wife's sister, and now his mistress. Relations soured when Parsons borrowed money from Kent and failed to repay it. Kent and Lynes moved out, and soon afterwards Lynes died, apparently of smallpox. In 1762, Parsons and his 12-year-old daughter, Elizabeth, reported the ghost of Lynes was haunting the house in Cock Lane. The ghost, known as 'Scratching Fanny' (because it sounded like it was clawing at the furniture), claimed that Kent had poisoned her with arsenic.

The case attracted mass public attention. Newspapers across the country reported on it, and curious crowds went to visit Cock Lane. Educated men held séances to speak with Scratching Fanny, and the famous writer Samuel Johnson formed part of a commission that investigated. Finally it was determined that the whole thing was a hoax: instructed by her father, who wanted to get back at Kent, Elizabeth Parsons was acting the ghost. Richard Parsons was subsequently sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and he was pilloried three times.

This case arose from a petty feud between Kent and Parsons. However, the controversy surrounding it demonstrates deeper fissures running through British society. Methodists argued that ghosts might be real; Anglicans rejected the possibility. Even after Richard Parsons was convicted, public opinion was divided.

Speaking some time later, Samuel Johnson summarised the continued uncertainty around ghosts: "It is wonderful that 5,000 years have now elapsed since the creation of the world, and still it is undecided whether or not there has ever been an instance of the spirit of any person appearing after death. All argument is against it; but all belief is for it."

ROMANCE

The marital woes of a fallen poltergeist

In 1737, an Aberdeenshire man called Geordie Watt went to his minister with an unusual conundrum: he was being tormented by the ghost of his dead mother. This spirit had informed him that it was "the will of the great God" that Watt should marry the family's serving girl, Tibbie Mortimer, as she was destined for eternal glory. Unless Watt agreed to this unequal match, he and his six brothers would be "consumed with fire from heaven".

Upon hearing this story, the minister agreed to visit Watt's farm. The ghost duly appeared, and the minister charged at it. The ghost started to run away, but promptly fell over. The church records then note that the minister "made such a trial of the apparition as he thought agreeable to the principles of Christian revelation and true philosophy" – that is, he hit her with a stick, and so ascertained that she was no incorporeal spirit. Stripping away the ghost's veil, the minister revealed Tibbie Mortimer herself.

The records suggest that Mortimer was pregnant; both she

and Watt were fined for "fornication". The church also found Mortimer guilty of blasphemy. On Sundays she had to sit at the front of the church service on the so-called Stool of Repentance, wearing coarse sackcloth – a punishment that went on for over a year.

There is no record of what became of the child, but the sorry story does not seem to have ended in marriage.

A servant such as Mortimer was left with few options when she found herself pregnant, and so it appears that she cooked up the ghost ruse in an attempt to persuade Watt to marry her. By invoking supernatural authority, social underdogs could attempt to influence their 'superiors'. Unfortunately, in this particular instance, the attempt fell flat on its face.

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The ghost appeared, and the minister charged at it. The ghost started to run away, but promptly fell over



RELIGION

Acts of terror from beyond the grave

The question of whether or not ghosts exist has been debated for centuries. Protestant theologians thought they had the answer. Ghosts, they argued, were a Catholic superstition, and so they sought to discredit 'papists' by associating them with ghost hoaxes. Stories circulated of Catholic priests fabricating hauntings to exhort payment for exorcisms, or dressing up as ghosts to sneak into the bedrooms of virtuous young women.

One particularly dramatic case was reported in 1733, in a publication called *Revolution Politicks*. A group of Catholics supposedly attested that they had been terrorised by a spook. This ghost claimed that it could not rest unless its body was buried under the pulpit in one St Clement's Church. After the Catholics made a 'present' to the local minister, he agreed to allow the burial, and the funeral took place.

That night, the rector dreamed that his church was on fire. His level-headed wife told him to go back to sleep. Every time he closed his eyes, though, the dream returned.

Finally the priest got up, dragged a gravedigger out of bed, and went to inspect the newly buried corpse. The two of them prised open the coffin – and instead of a corpse, they found "Fire balls, and other combustibles, and a match lighted in order to have blown up the church".

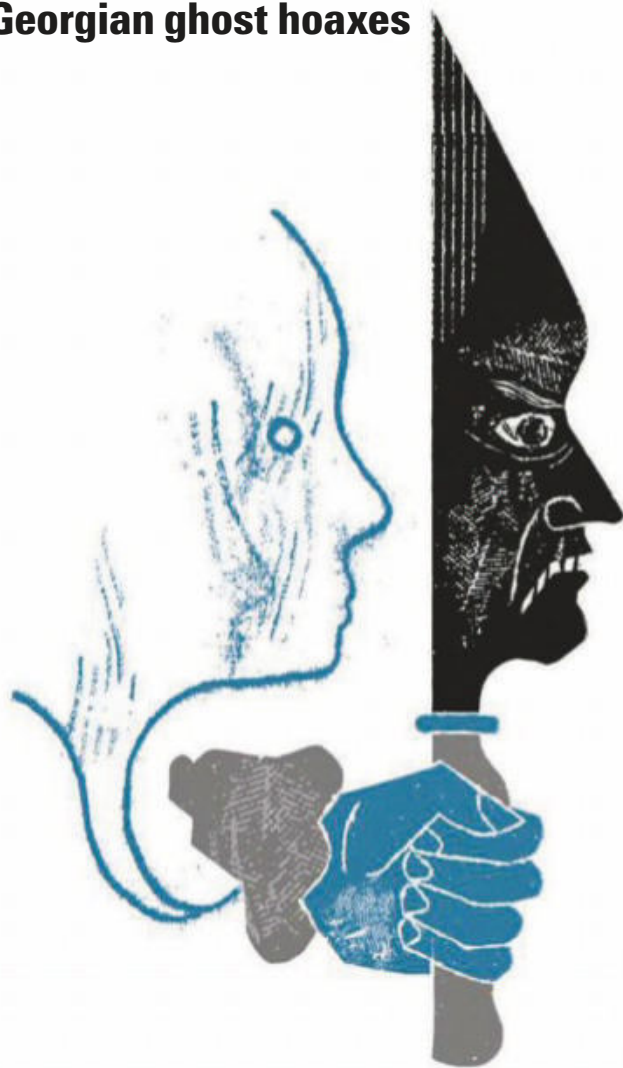
"Say some," the author continued, "this was another intrigue laid against the church, as deep as the fifth of November."

This tale of a hoax burial was almost certainly a hoax itself, but it demonstrates how ghost stories could be used to advance certain political or religious agendas. In the 1730s, amid fears of potential Jacobite invasion, stories such as this seemingly confirmed an accusation that many Britons already believed: that Catholics were enemies of the state.



It was claimed that Catholic priests dressed up as ghosts to sneak into the bedrooms of virtuous women





CRIME

Mugged by a knife-hurling apparition

Unscrupulous Georgians sometimes used ghost stories to scare their victims out of their wits – and their possessions. One example of such a crime came before the courts in 1810, after a woman called Margaret Salter targeted a Mary Anderson, who had been staying in the same lodging-house as her.

From the start, Salter behaved strangely, conducting what appeared to be rituals. She cut rings from white cloth and placed them in the fireplace; filled a teacup with sand and surrounded it with paper figures; and offered Anderson broth laced with a mystery powder.

There was worse to come. One day, the two were sitting together when a knife came

hurtling across the room at Anderson. But who had thrown it? The assailant was the spirit of a man called Richard Connors, explained Salter. Connors was, in fact, alive. He made frequent visits to the guest house and later married Salter. But Salter claimed his spirit desired Anderson's possessions, and would torture her if she refused. The naive Anderson was compelled to hand over a sprigged muslin gown, a cotton gown, a petticoat and stays, and five caps, among other accoutrements.

Eventually, Anderson wised up to the deception and went to the courts. Mr Justice Chambre fined Salter a shilling and sentenced her to 12 months' imprisonment in the 'House of Correction'. Connors was acquitted.

Salter was not alone in her opportunism. There are stories of villagers dressing up as spectres to swipe their neighbours' chickens, or highwaymen donning white sheets to frighten gentlemen. Invoking the supernatural became a way to circumvent earthly norms of behaviour – in these cases, to pernicious ends.

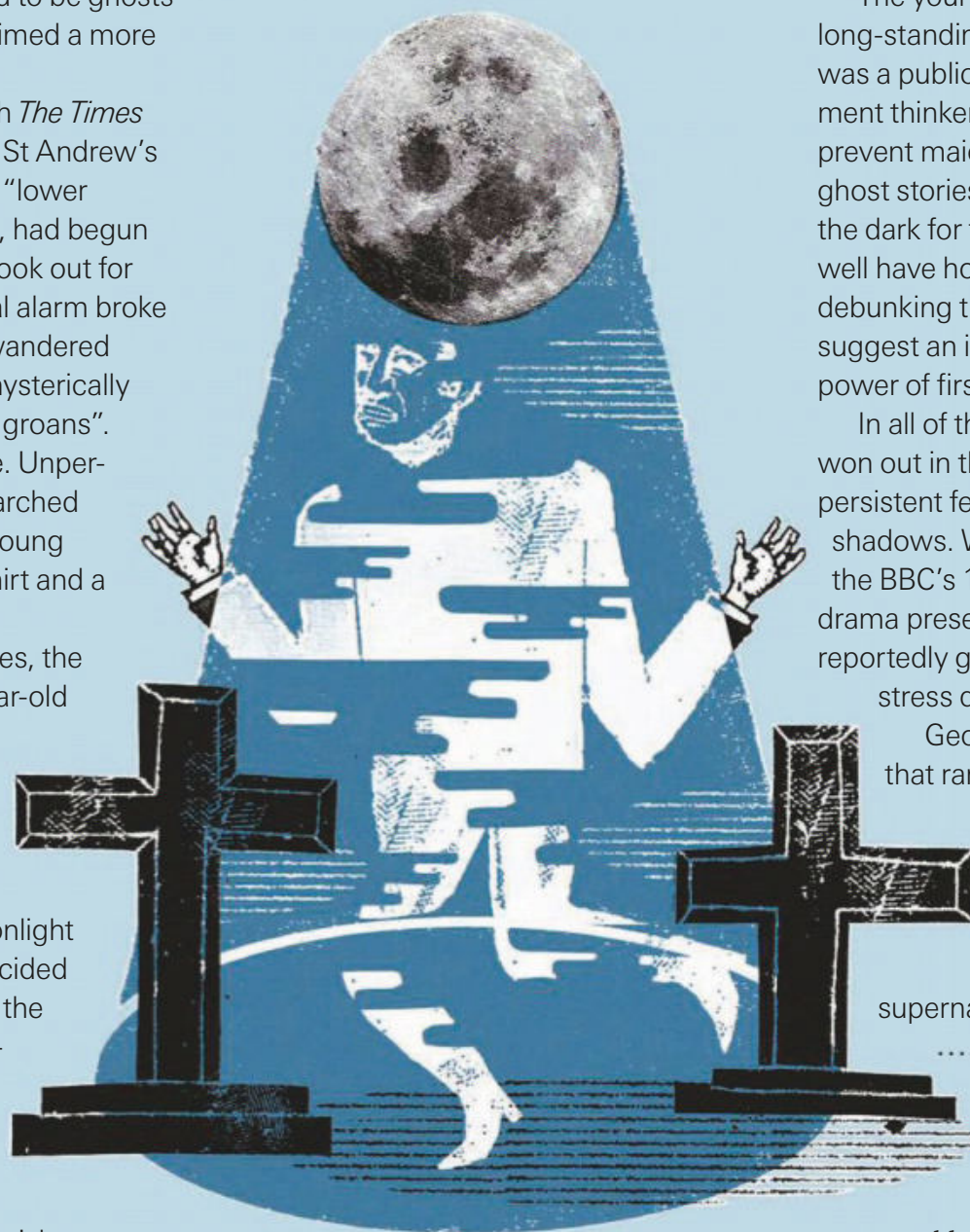
RATIONALITY

The ghost that meant well... but ended up in jail

While some Georgians pretended to be ghosts for financial gain, at least one claimed a more altruistic motive.

In 1815, stories began to reach *The Times* of a supernatural being haunting St Andrew's Holborn, London. A group of the "lower orders", the newspaper reported, had begun gathering near the graveyard to look out for the phantom. One night a general alarm broke out: the ghost had appeared! It wandered between tombstones, laughing hysterically and letting out three "sepulchral groans". Police officers were on the scene. Unperturbed by the apparition, they marched into the graveyard and found a young man in white trousers, a white shirt and a white cap.

Hauled before local magistrates, the youth identified himself as 16-year-old James Caines. He explained that a gentleman had paid him to go into the graveyard and investigate the ghost. Having established that the spectre was no more than a shaft of moonlight striking a tombstone, Caines decided to dress up as the ghost to catch the attention of the "credulous multitude". His plan was then to "un-deceive" them. After his respectable father vouched for his future good conduct, Caines was released without punishment.



The young man's plan chimed with a long-standing idea that combating superstition was a public service. In 1693, the Enlightenment thinker John Locke had urged parents to prevent maidservants from telling their children ghost stories, which might leave them afraid of the dark for the rest of their lives. Caines may well have hoped to enlighten his neighbours by debunking the dreaded ghost. But his tactics suggest an ignorance of the lingering emotional power of first impressions.

In all of the cases in this article, scepticism won out in the end. But the stories reveal the persistent fear that ghosts *might* lurk in the shadows. We see this even in modern society: the BBC's 1992 *Ghostwatch* hoax, a fictional drama presented as a live documentary, reportedly gave some viewers post-traumatic stress disorder.

Georgian ghost hoaxes reflect tensions that ran between different religious and social groups, and the curious strategies that individuals might adopt in the pursuit of social empowerment. They also reveal the enduring sinister allure of the supernatural world. **H**

Martha McGill is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Warwick. Her book *Ghosts in Enlightenment Scotland* was published by Boydell and Brewer in 2018



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The first we knew of Sylvia was when we received notification of the gift she'd left us in her Will. Shortly after, a beautiful story of a much-loved woman began to unfurl.

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BBC **HiSTORY** MAGAZINE



Marked man Charles I shown in a detail from Anthony van Dyck's famous portrait. In his final days, the king's attempts to play his enemies off against one another backfired spectacularly

WHY CHARLES I HAD TO DIE.

When Charles I was put on trial in January 1649, ordering his execution was unthinkable for many of his enemies. Yet, within a matter of days, those same enemies had sent him to the scaffold. **Leanda de Lisle** chronicles the brinkmanship, the bloodletting and the plots that persuaded parliament that it had no choice but to kill a king

Accompanies a
three-part BBC Four
documentary series,
**Charles I and a
Nation Divided**

BBC
FOUR

The Painted Chamber in the Palace of Westminster was a wonder of the 13th century. But the faded images were now obscured by tapestries; the medieval world barely intruded into the new on 8 January 1649, when men in military buff coats or plain Puritan suits sat at trestle tables and debated the fate of their king.

Two days earlier a high court had been established that would for the first time try a king of England. Six years into a series of civil wars between forces loyal to the king and their parliamentary enemies, this was justified on the practical grounds of preventing Charles from raising further “commotions, rebellions and invasions”. It was also a matter of principle: that the king should have no impunity from the law.

The 135 judges who had been appointed by the House of Commons were mostly army officers and radical MPs. Fifty-three attended this meeting, including the leading parliamentarian general Thomas Fairfax and his subordinate Oliver Cromwell.

Charles was to be charged with having “a wicked design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberties of this nation, and, in their place, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government”: crimes, it was declared, that deserved “exemplary and condign punishment” – in other words, death.

There was no certainty of outcome. Executing the king risked provoking foreign reprisals, or a popular rising. On the other hand, if Charles accepted the legality of the tribunal, he would be accepting that he had no veto over the Commons’ decisions. He could be returned to the throne subject to parliament, “a sword always over his head... [and]... grown grey in the documents of misfortune”. Yet, as Cromwell reportedly warned, if the king refused to plead, then, in order to confirm the supreme power of the Commons, they would have to “cut off his head with the crown on it”.

The wrong Protestant

How had it come to this? The answer can be traced back to the 1550s when Britain had two Catholic queens. To justify their efforts to overthrow them, Protestants had argued that monarchs drew their right to rule from the people – and that the people therefore had the right to resist, even to kill, those they judged tyrants, or of the “wrong religion”.

Charles was Protestant, but for some he was the wrong kind of Protestant: his love of beauty in worship idolatrous; his attachment to church government by bishops, popish.

At first, there was no talk in parliament of killing the king but instead of ‘rescuing’ him from evil counsellors

During the early years of his reign his leading ministers had stood as surrogates for attacks on the king’s policies. One was murdered, another executed for treason by Act of Parliament. Eventually the mutual mistrust between Charles and his MPs had paved the way to civil war.

But there was still no talk of killing the king. In 1642 parliament claimed it was acting, not against the rightful authority of the crown, but as England’s highest court seizing a form of power of attorney. The aim was to ‘rescue’ Charles from evil counsellors, who supposedly held him in their power, and the commission for parliament’s leading general called for the “preservation of the king’s person”. But then, that same year, the Civil War erupted and, as the casualties mounted, the bitterness grew. By 1645, with the advent of a crack parliamentarian fighting force, the New Model Army, and more aggressive leadership under General Fairfax, the phrase calling for the preservation of Charles’s life had been dropped.

It would have been convenient for parliament if Charles had been killed in battle as his ancestor James IV of Scots had been at Flodden in 1513. But instead Charles’s armies were defeated and he had been imprisoned.

Since 1646 Charles had been playing his enemies against each other, holding out for the best terms he could get under which he would be restored as king. In October 1647, the leadership of the New Model Army called for Charles to be tried as a “man of blood”. This was a biblical reference – “the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of the man that shed it”. But there was another, more traditional, way to dispose of a monarch: murder.

In the Middle Ages, deposed kings had met mysterious deaths in prison that were ascribed to natural causes. This had encouraged the nation to unite around their successor. It would now get round the difficulties of a trial – for in English law

treason remained an action *against* a king not *by* one. So in November 1647, when Charles received warnings he was to be assassinated, he had believed them, and had fled captivity. He was soon caught, and his flight was seen as an act of bad faith.

Anger against Charles grew after he encouraged more bloodshed, by supporting a royalist uprising and a Scots invasion in his cause in 1648. At a prayer meeting in Windsor that April, the New Model Army had passed a resolution to call “Charles Stuart that man of blood to account”. Yet, after these royalist and Scots forces were defeated, parliament had continued to negotiate the terms of Charles’s restoration. The picture changed again, however, on 6 December 1648, when the army purged the House of Commons of those MPs opposed to a trial.

A twisted history

So far the only precedent for the trial of a monarch was that of Charles’s Catholic grandmother Mary, Queen of Scots in 1586. Then, law, history and fact had been twisted to argue that a Scottish monarch owed the English monarch a duty of obedience so Mary could be found guilty of treason against her Tudor cousin, Elizabeth I. Now law, history and fact were twisted again.

The remaining rump of MPs declared it treason for an English king “to levy war against parliament and the kingdom of England”. This was rejected in the Lords, so the Lords were made irrelevant.

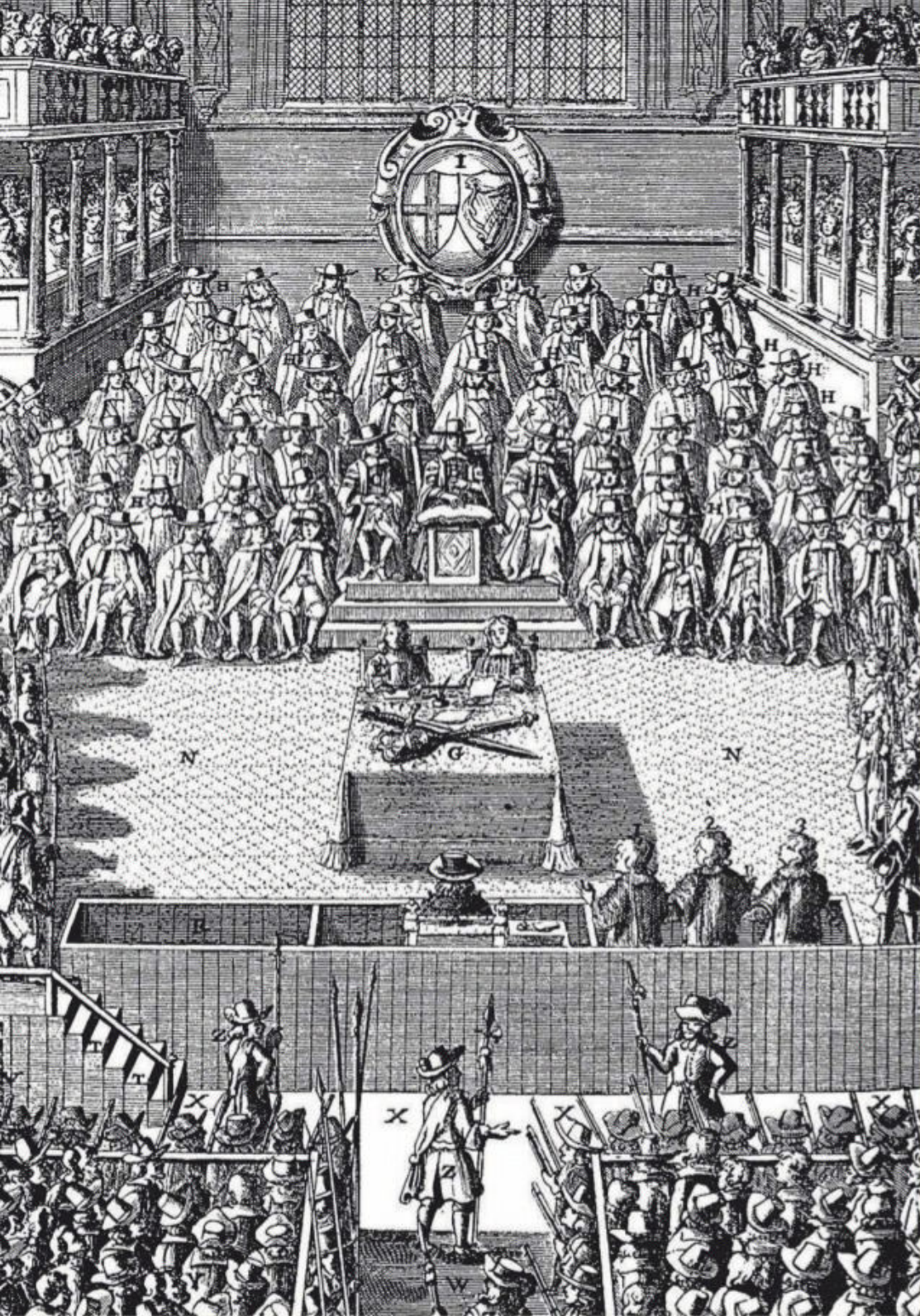
On 4 January the Commons declared, “that the people are, under God, the original of all just power” – just as Protestant rebels against Britain’s Catholic queens had claimed in the last century. And the declaration continued with a new assertion: as the people’s representatives, the Commons MPs held this power in trust, and their acts alone had the force of law. At a stroke they had broken the traditional constitutional trinity of king, Lords and Commons. But what had replaced it?

The Commons looked frail in a Westminster guarded by soldiers who had purged its MPs. And even Fairfax had no answer. One of the purged MPs had reminded him of a biblical warning: “Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord’s anointed, and be innocent?” Fairfax had believed that Crom-

well backed him on an outcome to the trial short of Charles’s execution, even if the king refused to plead. Death in battle was one thing; judicial murder another. Now, however, Fairfax began to grasp the ruthlessness of his subordinate; as a result, he would never attend a

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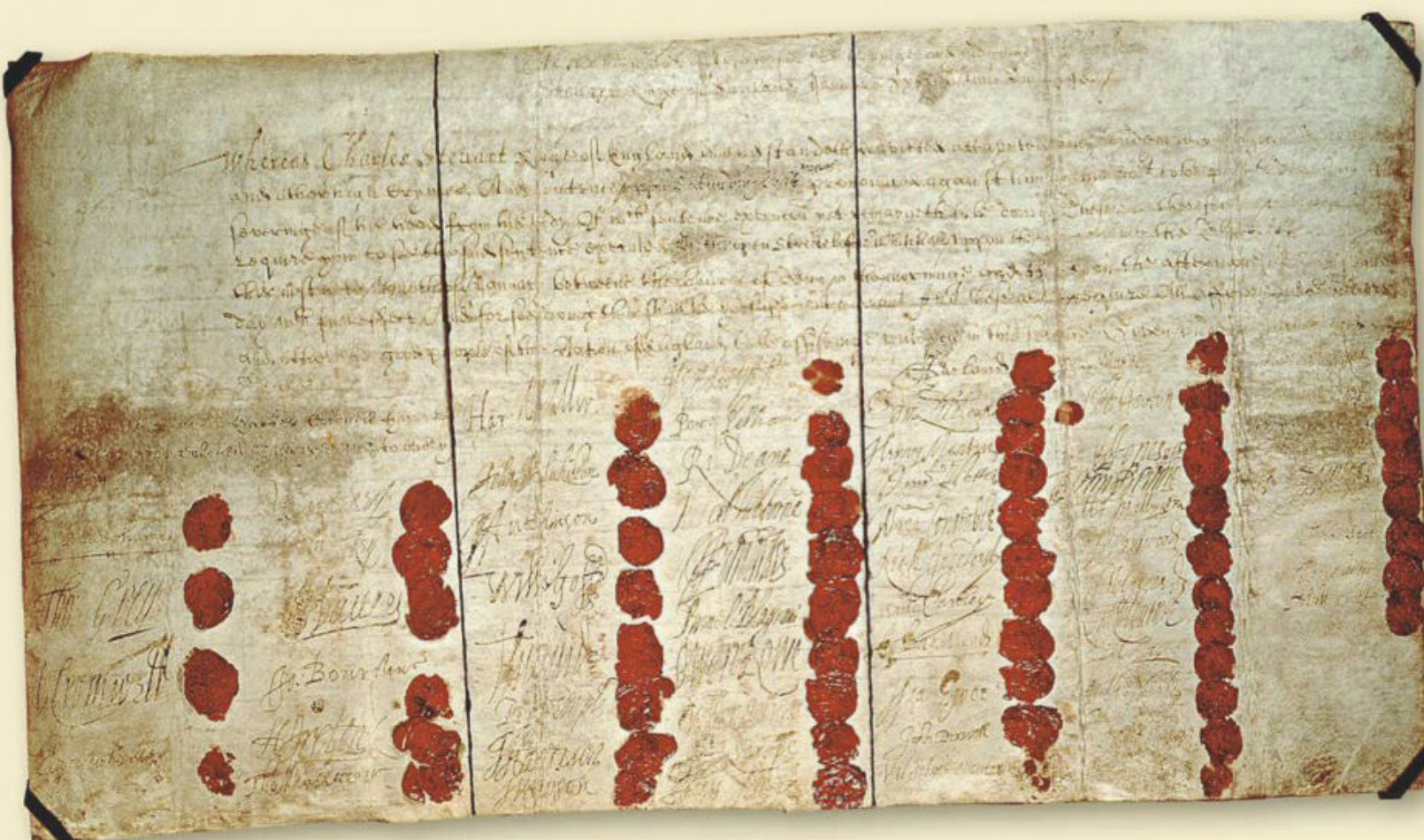
You’ll find more content on Charles I, from his love life to his execution, at historyextra.com/charles-i



King versus parliament Charles I's trial depicted in an engraving from 1684. By refusing to acknowledge the court's legitimacy, the monarch boxed his accusers into a corner from which they felt the only escape was to order his death



Pride before a fall Charles I at his trial. The hat remained on his head throughout proceedings "as a reminder," writes Leanda de Lisle, "that no one in court was his equal, so no one in the court was legally able to be his judge"



Signing a life away Charles I's death warrant, containing the signatures of the 59 men (including Oliver Cromwell and John Bradshaw) who approved the king's execution. Following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the warrant was used to identify and prosecute the 'regicides'

The downfall of Charles I

meeting of the judges again. But nor would he publicly oppose the trial, for that would risk tearing apart his beloved New Model Army.

When that trial came, it would bring to a head the intransigence and the bitterness that had characterised the king’s relationship with parliament over the past seven years. Those few days at the end of January 1649 when Charles faced his accusers would determine his fate – and his country’s.

Fear of the cut-throat

The judges who remained after Fairfax’s departure elected a veteran London radical, John Bradshawe, as their lord president and agreed the trial would take place at Westminster Hall. The space was cleared and a raised dais built for the judges at the southern end of the hall. On it were benches covered in red baize, a raised chair and a desk. Facing these was another chair, covered in red velvet. It was here that Charles would sit.

On 20 January Charles was escorted under guard out of the back of his lodging next to the palace. Inside, a roll call of the judges then

The trial began with Charles being accused as “a tyrant, traitor, murderer and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth”

began. Many names were greeted by silence – but not Fairfax’s. Wishing to remind the court that not all parliamentarians backed Cromwell, a masked Lady Fairfax shouted: “He has more wit than to be here!”

Charles entered Westminster Hall just after 2pm, through a doorway close to where the judges sat: a slight figure dressed in black silk and with a long, grey beard. He had refused the barber parliament had appointed, fearful the man could one day cut his throat. For Charles, his murder still seemed a far more likely fate than a death sentence.

The sergeant of arms conducted the king to the railed off area known as the bar. Charles stood in a tall hat. It remained on his head as a reminder that no one in the court was his equal, so no one in the court was legally able to be his judge.

Charles’s gaze was directed at the court. Then he turned round. Behind a wooden partition and an iron railing was a line of guards armed with halberds – pikes with axe blades. Charles looked up at the far corners of the room where there were galleries accessed

ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES/BRIDGEMAN

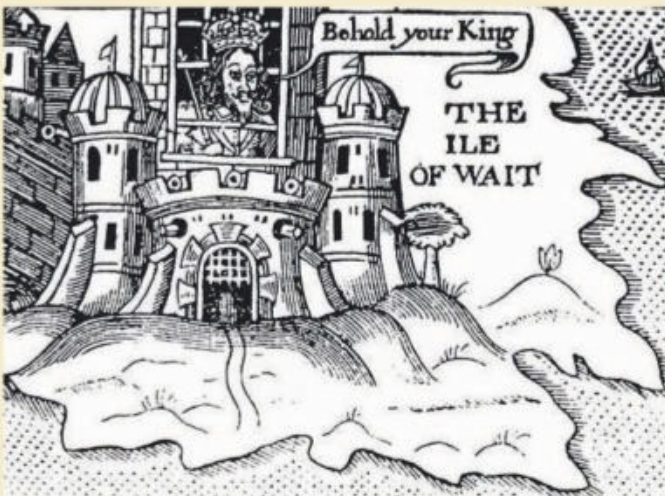
TIMELINE The demise of Charles I

August 1642
Charles raises his standard at Nottingham. The commission for parliament’s leading general, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, calls for the “preservation of the king’s person”. He is to be rescued from evil counsellors.

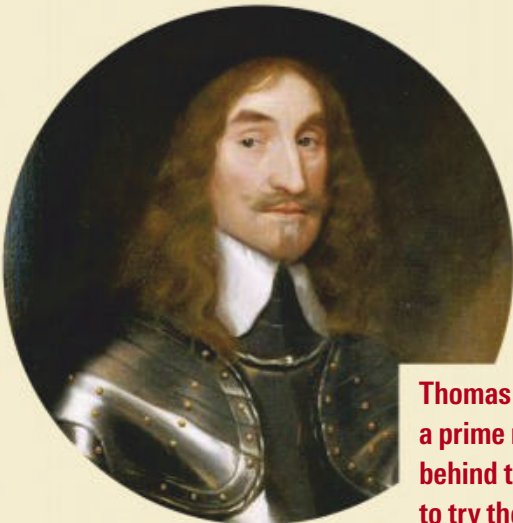
May 1646
Charles accepts military defeat and orders his armies to lay down their arms. Negotiations for the terms of Charles’s restoration to his thrones in Scotland and in England begin.

October 1647
Radical elements in the New Model Army are frustrated by parliament’s failure to persuade Charles to agree terms, and by the king’s willingness to play his divided enemies off against each other. They demand he is tried as the cause of the civil war and “a man of blood”.

A contemporary woodcut shows Charles imprisoned on the Isle of Wight, c1647



March/ April 1645
Sir Thomas Fairfax replaces Essex as the leading general of a reformed army – the New Model Army. The phrase calling for “the preservation of the king’s person” in Essex’s commission is removed.



Thomas Fairfax was a prime mover behind the decision to try the king

December 1647
Charles secretly reaches terms with the Scots and plots a new war.

March – August 1648
The New Model Army is forced to fight a second civil war and a Scots invasion. They pass a resolution at a prayer meeting to try Charles as a “man of blood”. Royalist forces are defeated.

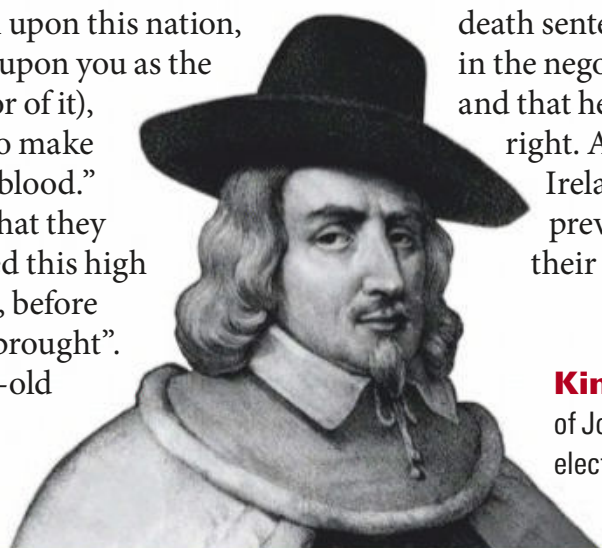
6 December 1648
Under Colonel Thomas Pride, troops from the New Model Army purge parliament of MPs who wish to continue negotiating with the king and who oppose the trial the army leadership now supports.

from private houses. These were filled with people of high status. Charles looked down, his eyes sweeping the lowlier spectators, before he faced the court again.

The act of the *Trial of Charles Stuart King of England* was read out and Charles accused as “a tyrant, traitor, murderer and a public and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth of England”.

Bradshawe addressed the king: “Charles Stuart, king of England, the Commons of England, being assembled in parliament, being deeply sensible of the calamities that have fallen upon this nation, (which is fixed upon you as the principal author of it), have resolved to make inquisition for blood.” It was for this that they had “constituted this high court of justice, before which you are brought”.

The 40-year-old prosecuting counsel, John



Cooke, who stood on Charles's right, prepared to speak, but Charles tapped him on the shoulder with his cane. “Hold,” he said. Cooke moved to continue, and on the third attempt Charles's cane struck him hard enough to send its silver head crashing to the ground. A hush fell across the room. Charles waited for someone to pick it up. No one bent for their king. So he retrieved it himself.

Charles could now have argued that all he did was in self-defence, but he did not take that bait. “I would know by what power I am called hither?” He believed the threat of the death sentence was an act of brinkmanship in the negotiations for his restoration as king, and that he still had cards to play. And he was right. Another war was now brewing in Ireland that only Charles could prevent. But he did not understand their red line: that first he had to

King's nemesis A c1650 image of John Bradshawe, the London radical elected lord president of the king's judges

accept their jurisdiction. So Charles reminded the court that he was at the point of concluding treaty negotiations with parliament and, that being the case, he wanted to know: what was their authority?

Bradshawe retorted that Charles was being tried “in the name of the people of England, of which you are elected king”. “No,” Charles returned, “England was never an elected kingdom.” And if the people were represented by parliament, which was a court, where was parliament, Charles wanted to know? “I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a parliament.” “That is in your apprehension,” Bradshawe snapped. “We are satisfied who are your judges.”

Going to the brink

On the Monday Bradshawe again asked Charles to plead. Charles again asked what authority was he being tried by? Bradshawe repeated that the judges sat by the authority of the Commons. “The Commons of England was never a court of judicature. I would know how they came to be so?” Charles demanded.



A 19th-century depiction of Pride's Purge, when New Model Army troops arrested MPs who opposed Charles I's trial

John Cooke, the prosecuting counsel during Charles I's trial



4 January 1649

The Commons declare “That the people are, under God, the original of all just power”. As the peoples' representatives, the Commons MPs (without the Lords) hold this power in trust, and **their acts alone have the force of law.**

20 January 1649

The trial opens. The judges are fearful that executing Charles will risk uprisings at home, war in Ireland and retribution from the European powers. **But he refuses to plead.**

27 January 1649

Charles has refused to plead on each day of his trial. To ensure superiority of the Commons, the judges have to pass the death penalty. He is condemned and sentence is passed that he “be put to death by severing his head from his body”.

1 January 1649

The purged Commons passes an ordinance to establish a high court of justice and declare it treason for a king of England to “levy war against parliament and the kingdom”. This is rejected in the Lords as illegal.

8 January 1649

Charles's judges meet for the first time. It is hoped Charles will plead innocent. He can then be found guilty of non-capital offences, or pardoned, and restored safely to the throne. But Oliver Cromwell warns that if Charles refuses to recognise the court, **they will have to carry out the threat to execute him.** Fairfax does not support this and backs out.



The silk vest worn by Charles I at his execution

30 January 1649

Charles I is executed in front of Banqueting House at the Palace of Whitehall.

The downfall of Charles I



Off with his head A contemporary depiction of Charles I's execution in Whitehall. The king is shown in the top right medallion; the top left medallion depicts the executioner holding Charles's severed head. Even in his final moments on the scaffold, the king argued the case for his divine right to rule

On the third day, Charles was asked to plead once more and once more Charles asked on what authority he was called.

By now pressure to halt the trial was growing. Ministers fulminated from pulpits against the sin of regicide, while the Scots, French and Dutch ambassadors made veiled threats about what they might do if he were to be executed. Charles was, after all, a king of Scots, the uncle of the king of France and father-in-law of the Prince of Orange.

The prosecuting counsel, John Cooke, was as frustrated as Bradshawe. If Charles pleaded, he could be convicted, leaving the Rump parliament to commute his sentence, subject to his good behaviour, in a supreme act of parliamentary sovereignty. But Charles had not pleaded. That night a man stopped Cooke on his way home, asking what to expect from the trial at this crucial juncture. Cooke replied bitterly: "The king must die and monarchy must die with him."

War crimes and aggression

In refusing to accept the jurisdiction of the court, Charles had denied that the Commons was the superior power in the kingdom. The cost of keeping Charles alive – accepting the king's superiority over them – was now greater than that of his death. He had left them with no choice but to cut off his head.

The next day witness statements were read out to help justify what was to come. They included tales of war crimes and aggression. By the following day, 26 January, the judges had agreed that Charles would be executed if he refused a last offer to plead. Cromwell

The cost of keeping Charles alive was now greater than that of his death. They had no choice but to cut off his head

judged Charles's fate divine providence.

On the morning of Saturday 27 January, Charles was brought back into the hall, and Bradshawe reminded the court that Charles was brought before them on a charge "of treason and other high crimes... in the name of the people of England". Lady Fairfax's voice rang out from the gallery: "Not half, not a quarter of the people of England. Oliver Cromwell is a traitor!" But the guards in the gallery dragged her out.

Bradshawe then offered Charles a last opportunity to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court. Charles instead asked "that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons?" The hour had come to negotiate – or so Charles hoped. But in asking to see the Lords, he was again denying the supremacy of the Commons. The sentence was now handed down.

The prisoner was addressed as one "Charles Stuart", "tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy", and, as such, he was to be

"put to death by severing his head from his body". The court stood. Charles now knew there was to be no negotiation. "Will you hear me a word, sir?" he asked. "No, sir," replied Bradshawe. "You are not to be heard after the sentence."

But Charles I *was* heard again, uttering his last words on the scaffold. Those words echoed the phrase stitched on his standard at the outbreak of civil war: "Give Caesar His Due." A "subject and a sovereign were clean different things", he said. A sovereign alone had a divine right to rule. But he wanted the people's "liberty and freedom as much as anybody". These lay in the rule of law, he argued, that he had defended in court at the cost of his life. As such, "I am a martyr of the people", he said.

In reality Charles's failed kingship had seen more deaths in England as a percentage of population than would die in the trenches of the First World War. If he was not a traitor and murderer, he was not a martyr either. But he was right on one matter: the Rump parliament and the army had taken an axe to the law. And when his head fell on 30 January 1649, England faced a new tyranny. **H**

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Leanda de Lisle's book *White King: The Tragedy of Charles I* (Vintage, 2019) has been awarded the Historical Writers' Association non fiction crown. She worked as a historical consultant on *Charles I and a Nation Divided* (see below for more details)

WATCH

The three-part documentary series **Charles I and a Nation Divided** is due to air on BBC Four in July



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Photo credit: Child survivors of the Holocaust on their way to the UK. Courtesy of UN Archives and Records Management, New York (Record Group S-1058-0001-01-314).



THE (FORGOTTEN) IRAQI WAR



IWM (CM 774)

When pro-German Iraqis seized power in Baghdad in 1941, they threatened to shut off the oil supply to Britain's war machine. But, writes **John Broich**, they hadn't reckoned on a ragtag collection of Allied fighters armed with dilapidated planes and phantom tanks

George Orwell felt helpless as he watched the latest in a series of disasters loom for Britain and her allies. Already, British cities were bombed nightly by the Luftwaffe, nearly all of Europe was dominated by the Axis powers, and an Allied force was fleeing for the sea before German forces sweeping down Greece. Everywhere Orwell looked, he saw dire threats and failures.

Now, at the turn of May 1941, he wrote despondently in his diary of a new emergency to which, he feared, the British would not respond quickly or resolutely. In Iraq (where Britain exerted a significant influence), four German-friendly officers had launched a coup, chased away Iraq's young British-aligned king, and installed a hand-picked prime minister. The first thing this military junta did was shut off the flow of Iraqi oil from Kirkuk to British refineries on the Mediterranean – oil critical to the Royal Navy, but even more important to the oil-poor German war machine.

"At the very best, this is a disaster," Orwell wrote in his diary. "Presently you will hear that German experts are arriving by plane or via Turkey; or we shall stand on the defensive and do nothing until the Germans have managed to transport an army by air..."

The situation in Iraq was as bad as Orwell imagined. The four coup plotters, who called themselves the Golden Square, had immediately made overtures to the Germans upon seizing the government. In part, it was simply because the enemy of their enemy was their friend. The resented British had never stopped ham-fistedly meddling in Iraqi politics and maintained two airbases (doubling as spy centres) in the country. The Golden Square's invitations also stemmed from the fact that its members had served in the Ottoman military during the First World War, and were well disposed to their old German comrades. Meanwhile, as everywhere else, the ideals of fascism had made inroads into Iraq. In the country's military, ethno-nationalism and opposition

Line in the sand

Arab legionnaires guard some Gloster Gladiators refuelling in Transjordan, on their way to reinforce a besieged Allied garrison in Iraq in spring 1941

The 1941 Iraq war



An ear to the ground The German Foreign Office's chief Iraq envoy Fritz Grobba (far right) pictured in Baghdad. The Nazis coveted Iraqi oil



Regional enemies
Vichy French troops in Beirut, Lebanon in 1941. Decoded messages showed Vichy authorities were cooperating with the Nazis

to democracy were rife.

The overtures were most welcome in Berlin. "There would seem to be a great opportunity," German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop wrote to Hitler, "for establishing a base for warfare against England through an armed Iraq." Ribbentrop immediately dispatched envoys bearing purses of silver to facilitate military cooperation in Iraq.

Things moved fast, and before long the Axis won oil rights from the Iraqis – an oil supply that alone would have been sufficient to fuel their military efforts in Europe. A pipeline was already in place to deliver that oil to a refinery in coastal Lebanon (then governed by France's Vichy government, which despite its official line was privately cooperating with the Nazis). Or it might have taken a safer overland route via abundant Turkish railways to Europe. The Germans and the Italians, in turn, promised cash and aid in throwing out the British, along with the creation of an independent united kingdom of Iraq and the Levant in the fascist New World Order.

It was, as Orwell wrote, a disaster – and (as our map on page 56 shows) one with potentially dire consequences for the wider region.

Profound impact

In Rome, Mussolini was galvanised by news of the Golden Square takeover. He considered Iraq a linchpin of the British empire and its loss, he eagerly told a German military liaison, "might have an even more profound effect upon the British world position than a

Allied troops were borne by threadbare buses 'requisitioned' off the streets of Haifa

landing in the British Isles themselves".

Now a debate began among British and Allied top brass in Westminster, Cairo, New Delhi and elsewhere about how to react to the coup. Indeed, there was a debate about whether to "stand on the defensive", as Orwell had feared. But there was also a question about the practicality of a successful military intervention. In Cairo, General Archie Wavell, fighting the Hydra-headed monster of multiple battles around the Mediterranean and Red seas, warned of the danger of adding another head and spreading Allied forces too thinly.

"My forces are stretched to limit everywhere," he wired to the joint chiefs of staff in Westminster, "and I simply cannot afford to risk part of forces on what cannot produce any effect." Even if he could scrape up some units, he couldn't imagine them being enough to face the Royal Iraqi Army's 30,000 or so troops. Yet when Churchill made it clear that this was an order, Wavell began scraping.

Meanwhile, India stepped up. Its experi-

enced, professional army was already fighting in north-east Africa; now its leaders ordered a force of roughly 3,000 to the key Iraqi city of Basra. When the Indian troops landed unopposed, they did not start a fight but began to dig in. Watching from Baghdad, the Golden Square were worried. They sent urgent messages to Berlin and Rome to hurry their help. Soon, the first Luftwaffe craft landed in Iraq: fighter-bombers and transports carrying ground crew and staff, and even a plane-fuel refinery in miniature.

But the shuttling process took a long time, and it would be weeks before the Luftwaffe forces reached their peak of two dozen planes. Well before then – probably too early for their own good – the Golden Square sent around 7,500 troops, guns and armoured cars to the key RAF airbase 50 miles west of Baghdad. This was intended to encourage the withdrawal of the Indian army force in Basra. The Iraqis declared the base closed to operations until further notice; any more flights would constitute an act of war.

That airbase – at Habbaniya – was not a centre of operations, but mainly a flight school for British and Allied pilots badly needed on multiple fronts. It was also a centre for spying, an open secret among Iraqi officials, making it the focus of well-earned animosity. It had no modern fighters or bombers, and its security force was mainly composed of Iraqis like Assyrian riflemen who, while proud and professional, numbered only around 1,000. A few hundred Lancashire men of the King's Own Royal Regiment had just been shuttled in by



Danger zone A map showing RAF bases near Basra, where Indian troops landed, and Habbaniya, where the Allies fought a desperate bombing campaign. The Golden Square diverted oil from Kirkuk to Vichy Lebanon

US-built airliners from their base in Karachi. About a dozen RAF armoured cars dating to 1915 added little more.

Two days after the Iraqis delivered their ultimatum, on 2 May, the war for Iraq began. The RAF personnel at Habbaniya knew they could not repel 7,500 Iraqis with their 1,300 men, so their only hope was to take to the air and bomb the besiegers incessantly to prevent them forming up and rushing the base. The troops in Basra lacked transport to provide assistance and Wavell's troops forming up in Palestine would not reach them in time.

Habbaniya's commanders received the go-ahead from Churchill, who signalled: "If you have to strike, strike hard" – and so they did, in a surprise attack before dawn: not very sporting, perhaps, but exactly the

sort of decisive act of which George Orwell wanted to see more. There followed a desperate week for the base personnel. Habbaniya had only legacy fighters and bombers, and after a week of constant flying they were barely holding together.

Yet it worked. The relentless air bombardment by the makeshift squadron, and its attacks on water and other incoming supplies, led to the collapse of the Iraqi siege. The first part of the 1941 war for Iraq was over; the second part was about to begin, with the arrival of Wavell's relief force of about 2,000 from the west.

These were a curious composite, including the famous Household Cavalry, more used to ceremonial parading than war-making, and now riding lorries rather than Cavalry Blacks. There was also the bloodied 1st Essex Regiment, men and boys from the Southend area who'd recently broken and fled under a mind-breaking Italian air bombardment on the Sudanese frontier. There were gunners from Lincolnshire who'd started the war as lighthearted Territorials but had become bitterly experienced in the battle of France before their escape via Dunkirk. And some

Royal Engineers were among them, there to dynamite Iraqi oil infrastructure if the Golden Square could not be defeated. Many of these troops were borne by buses 'requisitioned' off the streets of Haifa – threadbare, secondhand things from the US.

Leading these forces into Iraq, around traps of soft dust

and by secret ways, were the desert rangers of Transjordan's Arab Legion, who also had swapped their horses and camels for Chevys and armoured cars.

And it was this force that exchanged the first fire between Germans and Allies in the battle, when four Messerschmitt 110s surprised the relief force then entering Iraq and let loose with their cannon. Defiant Arab Legion gunners jumped in their Chevy truck beds and responded with mounted machine-gun fire in an effort to protect the column, one legionnaire dying in the attack.

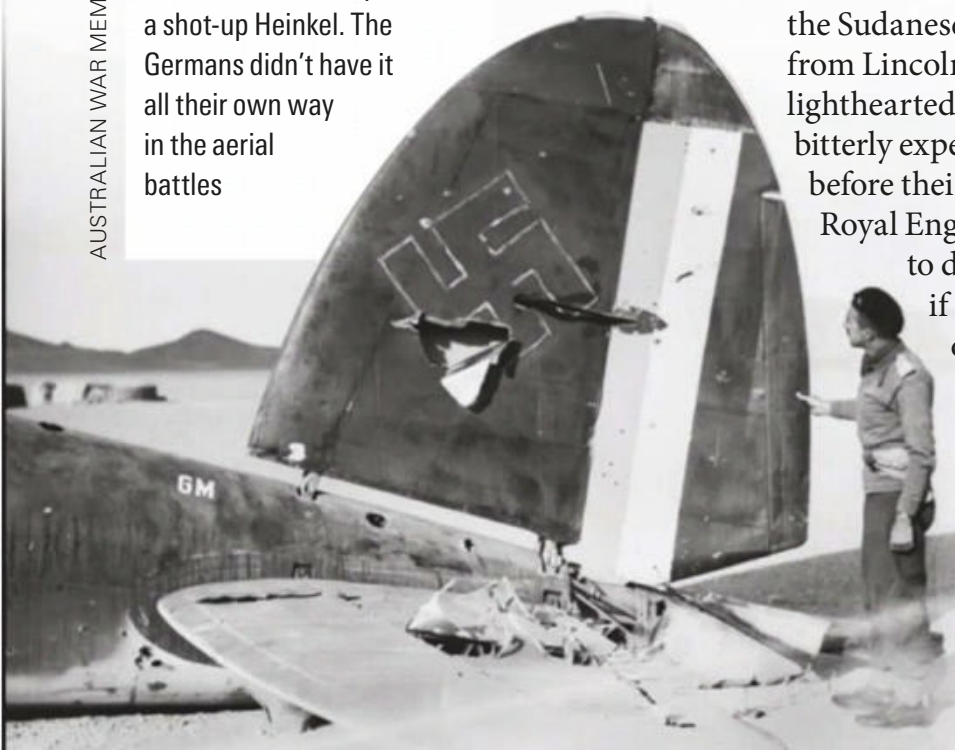
Vastly outnumbered

In mid-May, refreshed and refitted at Habbaniya but harried by strafing Luftwaffe planes and wary of a delay that would allow more to arrive in the country, these troops began their push in the direction of Baghdad. First, some of the newcomers combined with Habbaniya's Assyrian companies and the King's Own to win Fallujah and its critical Euphrates bridge. There followed a battle spread over several days – a bombardment by Habbaniya planes won the first round, but an Iraqi counterattack led by a few tanks nearly won the second – which saw the Allies victorious, but the citizens of Fallujah suffer.

Fallujah was taken. Now the Allies set their sights on Baghdad. But they had insufficient troops at their disposal – no more than 1,500 – to threaten the vastly larger Royal Iraqi Army. Aware they were badly outnumbered, and further split into two 750-man columns, they moved out in pre-dawn darkness on 28 May. The Allies'

Tail end

An Allied soldier inspects a shot-up Heinkel. The Germans didn't have it all their own way in the aerial battles



THE MIDDLE EAST AT WAR

How Europe's conflict had spilled into the oil-rich region by 1941

MAP ILLUSTRATION BY PAUL HEWITT-BATTLEFIELD DESIGN

PALESTINE

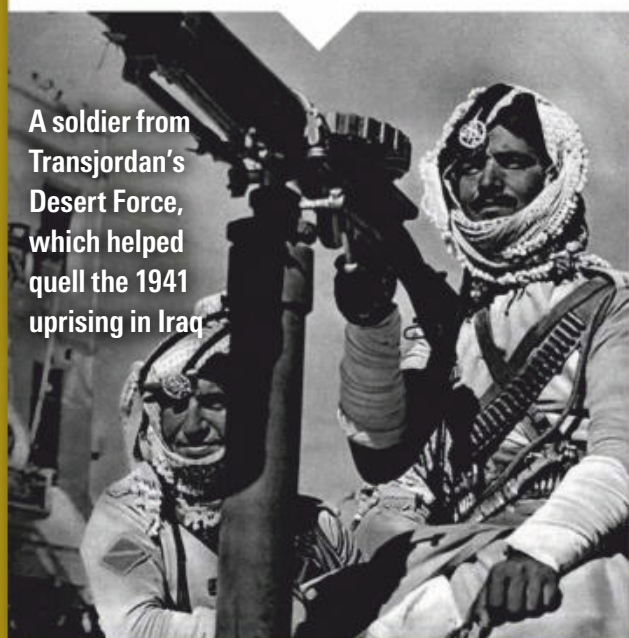
Having driven the Ottomans from Palestine in 1918, Britain received a League of Nations mandate to govern the country after the First World War. **There, it sat on top of a tinderbox of rival Palestinian and Zionist nationalisms.** In the event of an Axis-aligned invasion from Lebanon or Iraq, British military observers saw no hope of **defending or evacuating Palestine's Jewish population of roughly 400,000, including around 60,000 recent émigrés from Hitler's Germany.**



German Jews emigrate to Palestine in 1939. Their new home was at risk too in 1941

TRANSJORDAN

Transjordan came into existence in 1922 as part of a post-First World War League of Nations mandate to Britain. Britain, in turn, **handed it as a protectorate to the al-Hussein family, its allies in the Arab Revolt against the Ottomans.** Transjordan's emir, Abdullah I, immediately declared for his old ally in 1939. **But Transjordan joined the Allies at its peril, badly outnumbered by Iraqi and Vichy Syrian forces.**



A soldier from Transjordan's Desert Force, which helped quell the 1941 uprising in Iraq

TURKEY

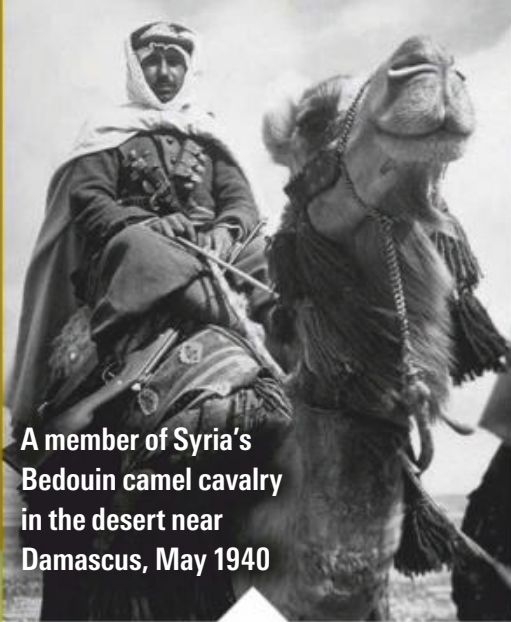
In the dark days of early 1941, Turkey strove hard for its neutrality. **Syria and Iraq bordered the country to its south and east, while the Axis-dominated Balkans encroached on its western border.** This would have put Turkey in a vice should Iraq have aligned with the Axis.



EGYPT

Egypt had largely won its independence from Britain in 1922, but **the British claimed the right to defend the Suez Canal (pictured right) by whatever means necessary.** The canal was the prize over which the war was essentially fought in the first half of 1941, when it became clear that **Germany could not invade Britain by sea and that the best route forward was to capture its supply routes.**





A member of Syria's Bedouin camel cavalry in the desert near Damascus, May 1940

SYRIA-LEBANON

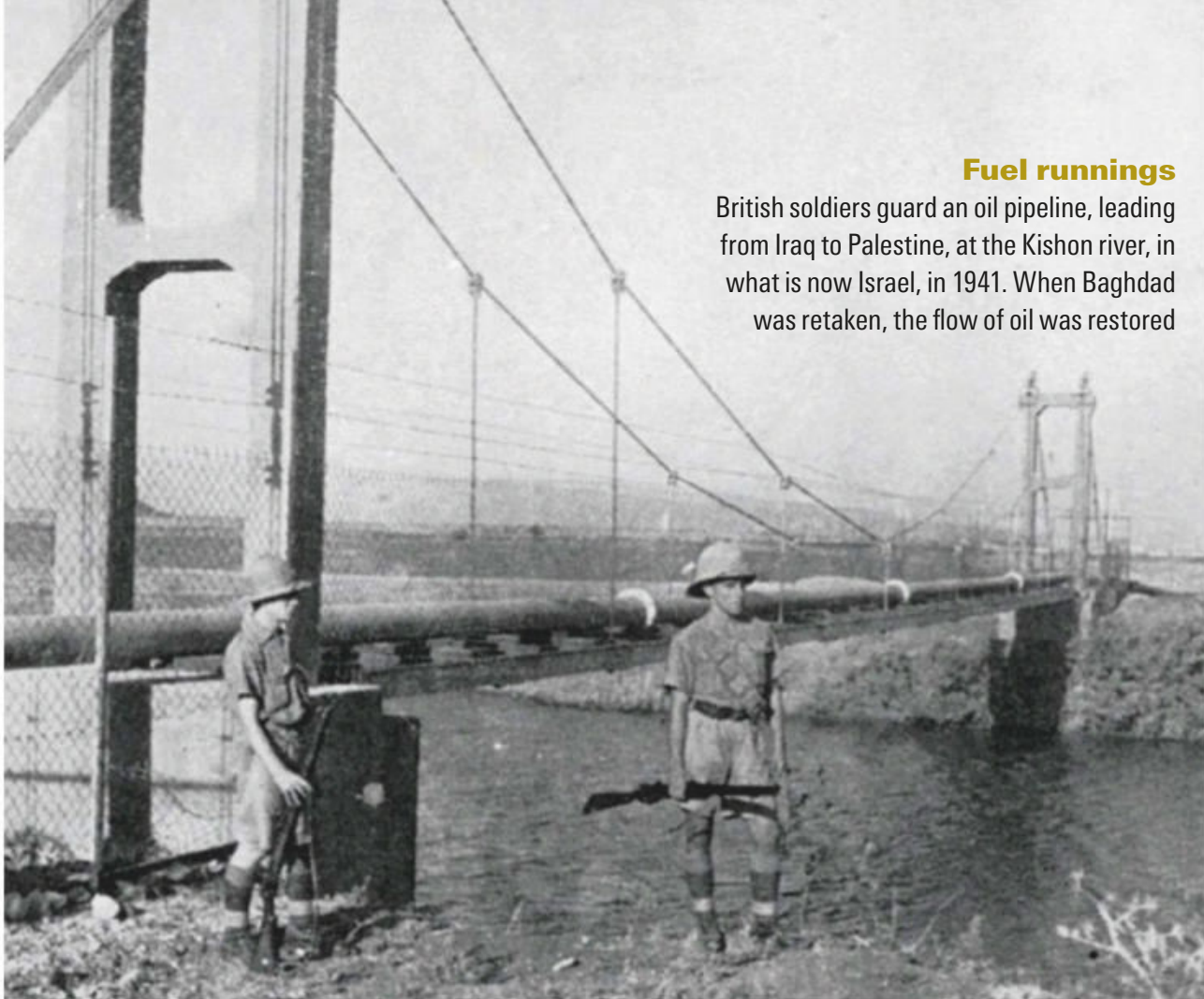
In the Levant, the League of Nations granted a colonial mandate to France in 1922, subdivided into Lebanon and Syria. **When France fell in 1940, Syria-Lebanon's officials sided with Philippe Pétain's regime in Vichy.** While Vichy authorities denied their complicity, decrypted Enigma-encoded messages revealed their **cooperation with the German Luftwaffe during the Iraq war.** This alarming new development was to be addressed in an Allied invasion immediately following the war in Iraq in summer 1941.

IRAN

Iran was neutral in the Second World War, its shah trying to chart a course between the Axis and Allies that maintained its independence and oil wealth. **Shaken by events in Iraq in May, and needing a lifeline to a Soviet Union attacked by Germany in June 1941,** the British and Soviets invaded Iran that August.

SAUDI ARABIA

While its relations with Transjordan were tense, and the Germans cultivated friendship, Saudi Arabia carefully maintained its neutrality until near the war's end. Meanwhile, it **sold vital oil to the Allies, while hewing closer and closer to the Americans** as the war progressed.



Fuel runnings

British soldiers guard an oil pipeline, leading from Iraq to Palestine, at the Kishon river, in what is now Israel, in 1941. When Baghdad was retaken, the flow of oil was restored

only hope was to rattle the Golden Square and send the junta retreating north. They knew that, if the Iraqis realised just how pathetic the invasion force was, they would sit tight until more German aid appeared on the scene.

Ghost tanks spread panic

That's why the actions of a sole interpreter played such a vital role in this final battle. As the invasion force marched on Baghdad, a Palestinian Arab, his name lost to history, was among a group of soldiers who stumbled on a telephone switchboard, a nexus of circuits being used by the Iraqi military. No sooner had the young man connected when a frantic voice came over the line: "I've been trying to raise you for two hours. What's the matter?" Officers in Baghdad asked after the state of battle west of the city, and the Palestinian adopted his best Iraqi accent to report that a column of British tanks (of course, there were none) had skirted the Euphrates flood waters and was approaching the city. The fiction spread, and soon Iraqi observers on other fronts reported seeing, even engaging with, nonexistent British tanks.

Subsequent Iraqi and German reports tell of how these fabled tanks were the last straw, sending the Golden Square and its supporters into flight in the last days of May 1941. Mosul had been cut off, so those who managed to escape the country fled by way of Iran; all four leaders would be rounded up and executed before the war's end. The last Luftwaffe planes and personnel, meanwhile, retreated via Syria because, they told Berlin, of the "increased number of armoured cars and tanks" attacking Baghdad.

"The Iraqis have asked for a flag of truce," George Clark, the major-general leading the gambit on Baghdad, messaged his superior

The Palestinian Arab adopted his best Iraqi accent to report a unit of British tanks that didn't exist

before dawn on 31 May. He didn't hide his relief: "Allah be praised!"

One of the first acts of the triumphant Allies was to restore the flow of oil to British Palestine, and stop the flow to Vichy Syria, a bounty of oil denied the Axis. The Reich's foreign ministry complained that the Iraqis had acted too quickly, before sufficient Axis aid could reach them. But Nazi leaders comforted themselves that Operation Barbarossa, set to commence in a few weeks, would yield its own bounty of Soviet oil.

Since, in fact, the Germans would not take those oilfields, the Allied victory in Iraq is more important than most realise, ennobling the sacrifice of roughly 75 Indians, Assyrians and other Iraqis, Transjordanians and British, with many uncounted civilian Iraqis suffering in places like Fallujah and Baghdad.

"At the very best," wrote George Orwell in his diary upon hearing of the coup, "this is a disaster." But this, at least, proved a case of disaster averted. ■

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John Hardyng

Henry V's secret agent

In the latest instalment of our occasional series profiling remarkable yet unheralded characters from history, **SARAH PEVERLEY** introduces a royal spy and cartographer who witnessed some of the 15th century's most extraordinary events

The horse was tired. Its wounded rider had pushed through Scotland's landscape for days. He couldn't risk stopping again, not after attracting the wrong kind of attention in Ayr. The Scots were still in pursuit and he had to reach England by nightfall. Mustering all their strength, horse and rider pressed on through the Scottish Marches – a desolate place, home to bandits and reivers. But the rider was alert, scanning the hills for signs of ambush.

It was 1421 and for three-and-a-half years John Hardyng, a 43-year-old English soldier, had been living "among the enemy". Travelling the length and breadth of Scotland on a secret mission for Henry V of England, his assignment had been two-fold. First, he had to map the terrain and report on the best route for an invading army. The king wanted to know what kind of roads were suitable for an army to ride, what towns stood on the east sea-side, and where his fleet could meet him with his supplies and all his artillery. Hardyng was also to seek evidence proving Scotland had no right to independence. Henry V, like many English monarchs before him, believed Scotland was part of his ancestral inheritance. Once Henry's war with France was over, the fruits of Hardyng's reconnaissance would help him pursue the Scottish crown.

Writing about his espionage years later, John Hardyng recalled how he had "laboured busily" each day, charting distances between towns and evaluating the landscape. He noted which lands were ripe for plunder with "corn, cattle and grass" and which waters were "navigable for vessels with a 40 tonne cargo". He also recorded the strengths and weaknesses of each castle, paying attention to how they

might fare under siege. Finally, through cunning and "great cost", he had managed to acquire several documents supporting English authority over Scotland. He would fabricate more once he was home.

As he crossed the Cheviot Hills, Hardyng dreamed of being rewarded. Little did he realise that all of his efforts had been in vain. In just over a year King Henry V would be dead.

Born in 1378, John Hardyng was educated in the household of

Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy (1364–1403), son of the first Earl of Northumberland. Initiated into warfare on the precarious Anglo-Scottish border, he became a formidable soldier. He was fluent in English, Latin and French, skills he used in old age to write a chronicle of British history that influenced Shakespeare. Hardyng's time with the north's most powerful family also exposed him to the cutthroat nature of English politics.

He was present in 1399 when the Percys rallied the north in support of Henry Bolingbroke's rebellion against Richard II. Chronicling how Bolingbroke (later Henry IV) seized the throne, Hardyng recalled the magnate swearing to "claim no more" than his lawful inheritance. "But," he maintained, "I heard the Earl of Northumberland say that King Henry made King Richard resign his sovereignty to him under duress of prison and in fear of his life."

When relations between the Percys and Henry IV soured, Hardyng was eyewitness to the quarrel that led to the battle of Shrewsbury (1403). Entrusted with safeguarding letters of support backing Hotspur's rebellion against the new king, Hardyng was taken aback by the "many lords that deceived him" by fighting for the king. More devastating was the Earl of Northumberland's failure to join his son on the battlefield. Thousands perished, including Hotspur. Hardyng survived and was pardoned by the king.

Haunted by floating corpses

Hardyng's experience on the northern frontier quickly earned him a new patron, Sir Robert Umfraville (died 1437), whom he served as constable of Warkworth Castle. Together they put their own lives at risk defending England against Scottish incursions and executing raids of their own as far as Edinburgh. On one occasion they captured 14 ships in a fortnight, returning "with great riches", including "cloth of gold, spices, jewels", "flax, sweet wines, and wax".

Later they fought with Henry V, who was pursuing the French crown. Hardyng claims to have been at Agincourt (1415) when the king's outnumbered forces delivered a crushing blow to the French. He was present at the battle on the Seine (another resounding English victory over France) a year later and was haunted by what he saw. "Many drowned that day," he reflected. "The bodies floated among our ships. It was so piteous and terrible to see."

It was in 1418 that Henry V recruited Hardyng to spy in

// Once Henry V's war with France was over, Hardyng's reconnaissance would help the king to pursue the Scottish crown //



ILLUSTRATION BY SUE GENT

Scotland. At great financial and physical cost he obtained what his sovereign desired, returning with strategic knowledge and a permanent, but undefined, injury. The results of his espionage were delivered to the king, but Henry's untimely death in August 1422 left Hardyng uncompensated for the lengthy mission. For the next 15 years Hardyng remained in the employ of Lord Umfraville, acting as constable of his castle at Kyme, Lincolnshire. When Umfraville died in 1437, Hardyng became a lay pensioner at the Augustinian Priory beside the castle.

From here Hardyng (now 62) forged new evidence of English hegemony over Scotland and petitioned Henry VI for the reward promised by his father 20 years earlier. So impressed was the young king with Hardyng's former service, that in 1440 he granted him an annuity of ten pounds. Unfortunately, Hardyng's windfall prompted one of the canons at Kyme to protest about his meagre financial contributions to the priory. Irritated by Hardyng's presumptuous habit of taking his meals in the refectory with the brethren, Brother Thomas Durham made a complaint saying: "Hardyng pays only 20 pence a week for himself or for what he gets." He was subsequently banned from eating with the canons, but wasn't asked to increase his payments.

Over the next two decades Hardyng set to work writing a history of Britain that incorporated the intelligence he had gathered for Henry V and a colourful map of Scotland, the earliest surviving independent representation of that realm. Arguably his greatest achievement, the history was dedicated first to Henry VI and later to Edward IV in the hope of soothing the political tensions between the two that sparked the dynastic struggle known as the Wars of the Roses. Recounting historical examples of the ruin caused by civil division, Hardyng hoped to unite his countrymen under the cause of conquering Scotland.

Whether he believed England's 'enemy' could be subjugated, matters not. Neither Henry VI nor Edward IV was in a position to use his plans. The true value of his history lay in Hardyng's heartfelt plea to end the uncertainty of his fractured times. His chronicle never brought about the peace he desired, but when Hardyng died in 1465 (at the great age of 87) it did preserve the story of the remarkable man who had lived through the reigns of five kings and survived the 15th century's bloodiest battles. **H**

Sarah Peverley is a 2013 BBC New Generation Thinker and professor of English at the University of Liverpool. You can listen to her discuss power in 15th century England on BBC Radio 3 at bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03f8c54





Game changers?

Women's football hit the big time in Mexico, 1971, thanks to a World Cup that boasted blanket press coverage, huge sponsorship deals and packed-out stadiums. So why, asks **Roger Domeneghetti**, did the tournament cause barely a ripple in Britain?

Complements
the BBC's coverage
of the **2019 Women's
World Cup**

BBC



In the spotlight

The England Women's World Cup squad, Mexico, 1971. From the moment the players arrived in Mexico City, they were treated like rock stars



Face of Mexico

A pennant showing the tournament mascot, Xochitl, who appeared on dolls, t-shirts and badges

As Leah Caleb and her England teammates stepped off the plane that had taken them to Mexico City, they were greeted by huge crowds at a packed airport. Arc lights illuminated the night sky. "One of the other players turned to me and said: 'There must be someone special here,'" Caleb remembers. "It was us."

The year was 1971 and the England team were about to take part in the unofficial women's World Cup. The tournament – organised by the Fédération Internationale Européenne de Football Féminine (FIEFF) – was met with overwhelming apathy back in England. But in Mexico it was a popular sensation, its canny manipulation of merchandising and sponsorship – and its ability to tap into the host nation's passion for football – setting the template for the multi-million pound extravaganza that will be the 2019 Women's World Cup.

Body blow

In some ways, it's remarkable that the 1971 tournament took place at all. Having shown little interest in women's football – and fearful that the game might fall "into the hands of promoters" – Fifa, world football's governing body, prohibited the Mexican Football Federation from helping to organise the women's tournament. In turn, the federation threatened to fine any organisation that allowed either their stadia or training facilities to be used.

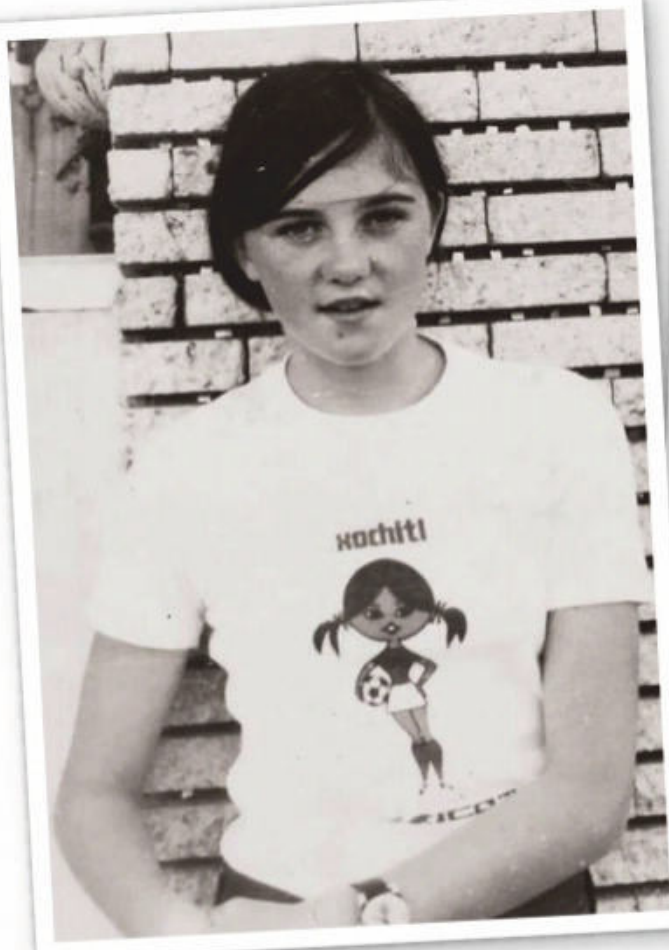
But Fifa's attempts to strangle the tournament at birth failed – chiefly because, over the previous few years, international women's

football had seen a surge in popular interest. In 1970, 50,000 fans had converged on Turin's Stadio Olimpico

Grande Torino stadium to watch Denmark beat Italy 2-0 in the final of a non-sanctioned tournament called the Martini Rosso Cup. That same year, Mexico had hosted Italy in a series of friendlies – the first watched by 60,000 spectators and broadcast on the national TV company *Canal 2*.

These friendlies may have hinted at the massive public appetite in Mexico for women's football, but FIEFF weren't taking the World Cup's success for granted. And, in a bid to generate even greater anticipation in a country that the previous year had hosted a spectacularly successful men's World Cup, the organisers commercialised the tournament in exactly the same way that the men's tournaments had. They created a mascot, Xochitl (which, in the Mexican language Nahuatl, means 'flower'), a young girl dressed in a Mexico kit with a football under her arm. Xochitl gave the tournament a visual focal point and appeared on a range of merchandising, including magazines and programmes, dolls, t-shirts, badges and bags. Soon, a posse of high-profile corporations were in on the act, the likes of Carta Blanca beer, Nikolai Vodka, the slimming drink Dietafiel and Lagg's tea joining Martini & Rossi as official sponsors.

Although FIEFF clearly respected the players' on-pitch abilities, they weren't afraid of exploiting their gender to promote the tournament. Xochitl wore pigtails and had an 'hour-glass' figure, while the goal posts were painted pink and white. In a *New York Times* article prior to the tournament, Jaime de Haro, the head of the organising committee,



Teenage kicks

Leah Caleb in 1971, sporting a t-shirt with the Mexican World Cup mascot. The England player was aged just 13 when she took part in the tournament



Brush with fame

England winger Gill Sayell in training. "In Mexico we were chaperoned everywhere, taken to functions and we went on TV," she recalls. "The limelight was quite surreal"



The height of success

Denmark celebrate their 3-0 victory over Mexico in the 1971 World Cup final, played in front of an estimated 110,000 fans

declared: "We're really going to stress the feminine angle. It's natural, the combination of the two passions of most men around the world: soccer and women."

Looking back from the 21st century, these words may appear crass, but there's little doubt that the organisers' marketing strategy worked in whipping up anticipation – as the England team discovered when they touched down in Mexico. No sooner had they left the airport than they were in demand from the local media – a far cry from the complete lack of interest in women's football back home.

"There were a few snippets in the British press but it was a jokey type of thing," remembers England winger Gill Sayell, who was just 14 when the tournament began. "But in Mexico we were chaperoned everywhere, taken to functions and we went on TV. For a schoolgirl, to be plucked into that limelight was quite surreal."

The media interest continued throughout the team's month in Mexico. The national newspapers *Excelsior* and *El Heraldo de México* both produced regular match reports and updates on the various teams' off-pitch activities. The England squad also had numerous social engagements to fulfil, including a cocktail reception at the British ambassador's residency.

"You could feel in the weeks leading up to the games that something special was about to happen," recalls right winger Leah Caleb, who, at 13, was even younger than Gill Sayell.

The head teacher of Leah Caleb's school asked the local authority to agree to allow her to play for the boys' team. It said no

"Everywhere we went there would be people coming up to us for our autographs. We had police escorts going to matches. Once, our coach was stopped on the highway because they all wanted to shake our hands through the window and give us things."

A passionate advocate

Alongside Mexico, Argentina, Denmark, France and Italy, England were one of six teams to contest the 1971 World Cup. That they were there at all was largely down to the pioneering work of a coach called Harry Batt. In 1969 Batt, supported by his wife June, had formed Chiltern Valley Ladies FC and quickly affiliated the team to FIEFF. Batt, who had fought in the Spanish Civil War and was fluent in several languages, was a passionate advocate of the women's game. "In the future there will be full-time professional ladies' teams in this country," he declared.

But in 1970s England, that brave new world appeared a distant dream. The 1971 World Cup took place at a time when women's football was treated with contempt and ridicule. That ridicule was especially conspicuous in the national press: when England played Scotland in 1973 (in what was by then an 'official' game), one prominent *Sunday Times* journalist wrote: "It's like a dog walking on its hind legs. It's not well done but it's surprising to see it done at all."

That attitude filtered down to school football. Neither Caleb nor Sayell were allowed to play for their school teams. The head teacher of Caleb's school asked the local authority to agree to allow her to play for the boys' team. It said no.

Football "wasn't the chosen sport for girls but you just got on with it", remembers Caleb, who played under Batt for Chiltern Valley Ladies. "I just started playing football in the playground at my primary school because the boys were kicking a ball and the girls joined in. You soon developed a passion for the game because you could play. Those were the days of George Best, Denis Law and Pele – it was an exciting time for men's football and of course England hadn't long won the World Cup, so there was lots of inspiration."

Aged nine, Sayell had joined a boys' team (pretending to be a boy – her teammates called her 'Billy') but when other teams realised she was a girl they refused to play against her – purely because she was better

Rollercoaster ride

The highs and lows of women's football in the UK

WAR DIVIDEND

Following a surge in interest in women's football during the First World War (when many male players were away at the front), the Dick, Kerr Ladies factory team play St Helen's Ladies at Goodison Park on Boxing Day in front of a crowd of 55,000.



The all-conquering Dick, Kerr Ladies factory team

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

Teams from Scotland and England meet at Hibernian's Easter Road ground in Edinburgh. Scotland run out 3-0 winners in front of a crowd of around 2,000. It is the first recorded women's football international.

1920

ON TOP OF THE WORLD

England finish runners up to Sweden in the two-legged final of the inaugural Uefa Women's Euros. The English media pay virtually no attention. The following year England win the Mundialito, an unofficial forerunner to the World Cup.



BRAVE NEW WORLD

Barclays agree a three-year deal worth more than £10m to sponsor the Women's Super League. In June and July, 24 teams – including England and Scotland – will contest the Fifa Women's World Cup, staged in France.

2019

CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE

Hope Powell (above) is appointed the first full-time coach of the England women's team. Twenty Centres of Excellence for girls are established, and sponsorship is gained for both the women's FA Cup and Premier League.

1998

2015

A LANDMARK FOR THE LIONESSES

England's Lionesses defeat Germany in the third-place play off of the official World Cup. It's the best finish by a senior England team since the men's team won the 1966 World Cup.

1989

MATCHES FOR THE MASSES

Channel 4 broadcasts coverage of the WFA Cup Final and nearly 3 million tune in to watch Leasowe Pacific (now Everton) beat Friends of Fulham 3-2 at Old Trafford. Coverage over the next few years regularly pulls in around 2.5 million viewers.



England players celebrate beating Germany at the 2015 World Cup, Edmonton, Canada

1881

1895

NORTH HAMMERS SOUTH

Nettie Honeyball forms the British Ladies' Football Club. 'The North' beats 'The South' 7-1 before a crowd of 10,000 in Crouch End. Press coverage chiefly focuses on the women's looks and attire.



Members of the British Ladies' Football Club, founded in 1895

1971

HALF-HEARTED SUPPORT

The ban is lifted but little changes. In England, the Women's Football Association, formed in 1969, does not become affiliated to the FA until 1983. The FA allocates few resources to the women's game which continues on an amateur basis.

1972

BREAKTHROUGH GAME

Greenock's Ravenscraig Stadium plays host to a match between England and Scotland, the first official international for either country. England come from behind to win 3-2, with Pat Davies scoring the winner.

1921

THE PATRIARCHY BITES BACK

The success of women's football causes resentment among the male football establishment. Both the Football Association (FA) and Scottish FA ban affiliated clubs from letting women's teams use their grounds.



Changing times

The England team during training for their first ever official international: against Scotland in 1972. England won 3-2

than them. And when playing for Thame ladies, she recalled: “We’d get a few people watching. It was mocked a little bit and it wasn’t an easy ride.”

Deafening crowd

While some of England’s older players had to choose between playing in the World Cup and their jobs, Caleb and Sayell encountered few problems, as the tournament took place during the school holidays. “I’d never been on a plane before,” says Sayell. “My dad had to rush out and get me a passport.”

A few weeks later, Sayell and her England teammates played group rivals Argentina and Mexico, with the latter played in front of 90,000 people at Mexico City’s Azteca Stadium, which had hosted the men’s World Cup final the previous year. “I remember coming up the steps from the changing room, which was below the pitch, and the noise from the crowd was deafening,” says Sayell.

Unfortunately, in both games the England players failed to do themselves justice, losing their first match 4-1 and the second 4-0. Against Argentina, their problems were compounded when their striker Janice Barton was controversially sent off for stepping off the pitch to remove her shin pads. Barton had already scored in the game and would add two to her tally in the team’s 3-2 defeat to France in the 5th/6th play-off.

“I’d never been on a plane before,” says England’s Gill Sayell, who was 14 years old. “My dad had to rush out and get me a passport”

The Mexicans, responsible for England’s second defeat, would go on to reach the final, where they succumbed to Denmark 3-0. Contemporary estimates suggest the attendance figure for the final at the Azteca Stadium was 110,000, something that surviving footage supports. However, the game has effectively been wiped from history: in the record books, it is the 90,185 that watched the 1999 final (in what was the third Women’s World Cup organised by Fifa) that is hailed as the biggest ever crowd for a women’s match.

While the Danes celebrated their victory, the England players returned home to a country that had barely noticed they’d gone. When Caleb and Sayell returned to their schools after the tournament, no mention of it was made in assemblies.

“From the high of Mexico, it was just back to normal,” says Sayell. “I found myself thinking, ‘did that actually happen?’ which is a shame. It would have been great if the women’s game had gone on from there but it just sort of went flat.” Rubbing salt into the wounds was the fact that the players all received short playing bans from the English governing bodies for taking part in an unofficial competition, while Harry Batt was banned for life for “bringing the game into disrepute”. “I was very disappointed,” says Sayell. “You go from representing your country and then you can’t even play for your home team.”

“Whether the FA or WFA [Women’s Football Association] agreed or didn’t, the fact is that a team went there and represented England,” adds Caleb. “It happened, it’s real. People actually wanted to watch women’s football. They can’t take that away and I don’t know why you’d want to.” **H**

.....
Roger Domeneghetti is a senior lecturer in journalism at Northumbria University. He is the author of *From the Back Page to the Front Room: Football’s Journey Through the English Media* (Ockley Books, 2017)

WATCH

The BBC will be covering every game in the 2019 Women’s World Cup across TV, radio and online, starting on 7 June



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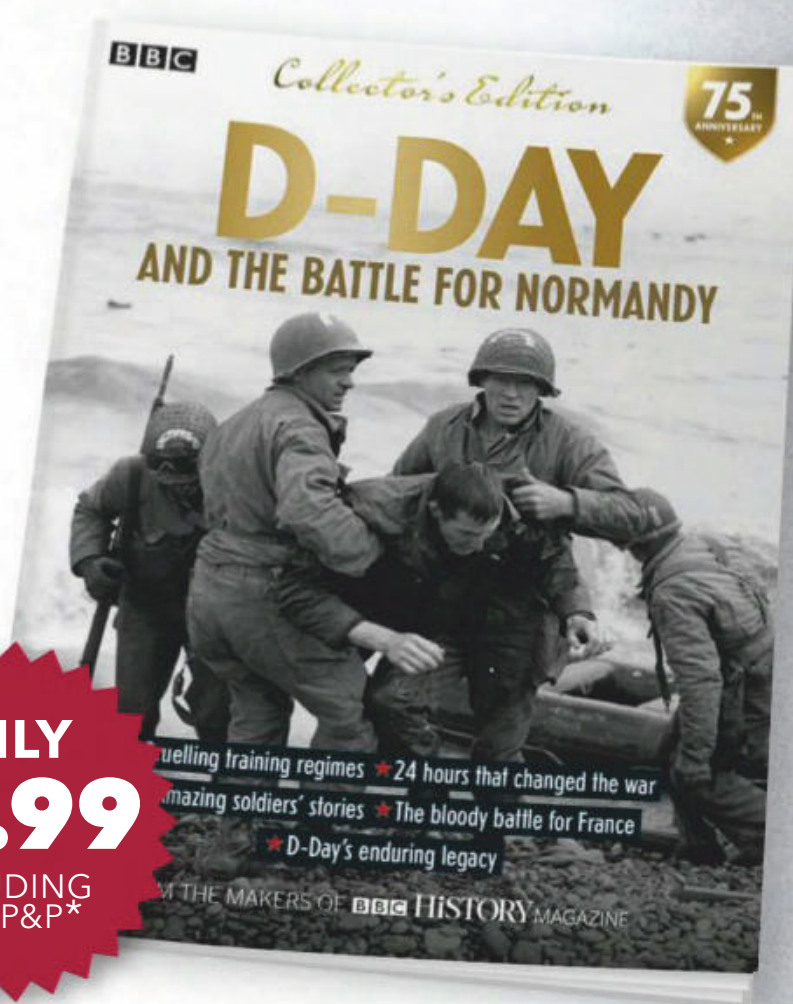
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AND THE BATTLE FOR NORMANDY

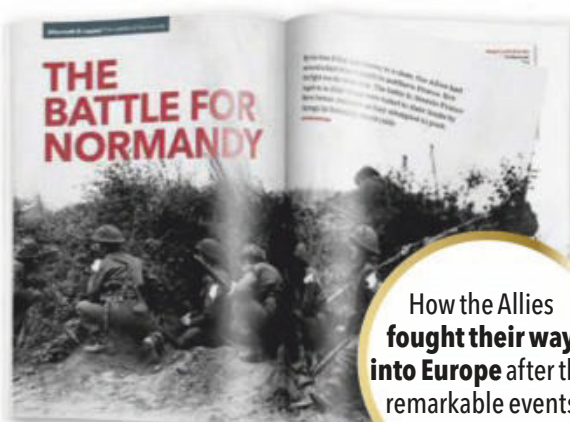
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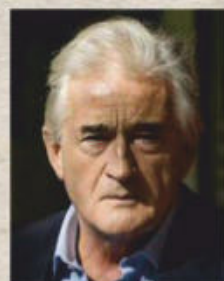
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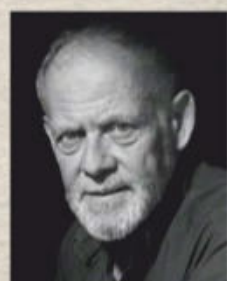
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CRIME & PUNISHMENT

“Prisons became sites of both punishment and reform”

Mark Roodhouse on *Shades of the Prison House* ▶ page 78



THE ‘SWINGING’ SIXTIES

// The ‘permissive society’ did not uproot misogyny or sexual double standards //



Sarah Crook on Virginia Nicholson's *How Was it for You? Women, Sex, Love and Power in the 1960s* ▶ page 74

ANCIENT ROME

“If Rome’s empire was hard won, then its preservation was a near impossible feat”

Daisy Dunn reviews *The Origins of Empire* ▶ page 76

INTERVIEW

“From before Plato, people were asking questions about the nature of reality, just as we are today”

AC Grayling on *The History of Philosophy* ▶ page 70

1930S APPEASEMENT

“Churchill emerges as more of an opportunist politician than a great statesman”

Nigel Jones on *The End Is Nigh* ▶ page 79

INTERVIEW / AC GRAYLING

“A great philosophical mind is one that belongs to a childish heart – always curious, always open”

AC GRAYLING talks to Ellie Cawthorne about his new book on the history of philosophy, which explores how ideas have shaped the world, and how the world has shaped great thinkers

Ellie Cawthorne: Your book covers more than two millennia of philosophical thought. What are the biggest conundrums that philosophers have had to grapple with in that time?

AC Grayling: You can ultimately reduce philosophy down to two great questions: what is reality, and what is of value in the world? These two questions have driven the whole history of thought. From the very beginning of western philosophy, before Plato even, people were contemplating the nature of reality and of value, just as they are in philosophy today.

Now, these two questions are obviously too big to be answered just by themselves, so you have to break them down. And it's in that breaking down that you get to the more particular questions, such as: what is knowledge and how do you get it? What is truth? What is the best way to reason? What's right, what's wrong, and what's the best kind of life to lead?

How have the interests of philosophers changed over time? Medieval thinkers had very different concerns to those of the Enlightenment, for example...

As well as the set of perennial questions that every generation must ask and answer for itself, as debate has gone on, the field of philosophy has accumulated more insights, more perspectives and more theories. And it has generated ways of thinking that have allowed their own disciplines to break away and become independent. For example, in the 16th and 17th centuries, questions about the nature of reality gave rise to natural science, the study of the physical world. Philosophical enquiries gave rise to psychology in the 18th century; sociology and empirical linguistics in the 19th century; and cognitive science and artificial intelligence in the 20th century.

You have to remember that every new discovery or advancement we make opens up new horizons of enquiry. And so it might be that in 50, 100 or 500 years' time, philosophers will be asking themselves questions about things that we can't even imagine yet.

How have emerging ideas shaped the course of historical events?

History moves on wheels of ideas, and ideas are the remit of philosophy. So you could argue that the great driver of historical change has always been the debates that we have: about how we should organise society, who should be in power, and what's right or good. These are all philosophical

questions. Accordingly, philosophy has been a central influence in the development of almost every advance and change that we can think of in history.

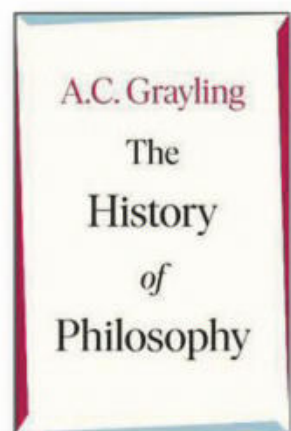
For a specific example, just think of Karl Marx sitting thinking in the reading room of the British Library. Within half a century his ideas had convulsed the world in revolution and utterly changed the face of global history.

Go back a bit further to the end of the 17th century, when the English philosopher John Locke famously wrote his two treatises of government, the second of which lays out the justification for what we call the Glorious Revolution of 1688. That document was quoted verbatim in the documents of the American and French revolutions. It had a powerful impact on the way the founders of the United States thought about how they should set up their new society. Those are just two examples of philosophical ideas changing the course of history, but I could cite many more.

In order to understand any historical period or epoch, we've got to ask ourselves, what were people thinking at the time – and why? What was the dominant ideology? Why did people accept certain ideas and reject others? When you do that you see some interesting contrasts. Think, for example, of the difference between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Look at the art of the high medieval period – full of resurrections, annunciations, crucifixions, flagellations. Then compare that to the art of the Renaissance – picnics in the countryside, landscapes, portraits, nudes. That's a very different artistic ethos. What had changed? All of this was triggered by a fundamental shift in ways of thinking. In the high medieval period, life was insecure, people believed themselves to be in a vale of tears, struggling to escape the dangers of sin so that they could make it into the bliss of an afterlife. But by the Renaissance, people were concentrating on the value of life in the here and now – there was a new recognition of the fact that experience and natural beauty can give us great satisfaction in the present.

To flip that last question on its head, how have great thinkers been shaped by the times they were writing in?

I don't think we can divorce any philosophical text from the historical context it was created in. Think, for example, of the horrors and atrocities of the Second World War. That catastrophe generated a whole new burst of philosophical reflection. In its aftermath, many thinkers, such as Hannah Arendt, set about trying to make sense of how it is that we human beings – as inherently social animals that need to love and be loved – could have turned on each other like that. There was an effort to make sense of the bad as well as the good, to try to learn from the mistakes that had been made.



The History of Philosophy
by AC Grayling
(Viking, 704 pages, £26)

PROFILE

Master of the New College of the Humanities in London, **Professor AC Grayling** is a philosopher who has written and edited more than 30 books, including *The Age of Genius* (Bloomsbury, 2016) and *Democracy and its Crisis* (Oneworld, 2017). He has also written columns for *The Guardian* and *The Times*



After surveying so many influential thinkers in your book, what do you think makes a truly great philosopher?

Depth of insight, originality, and having an effect on the way that subsequent generations of people think about things. A philosophical mind is one that belongs to a childish heart – always curious, always open, and always vitally interested in trying to make sense of things. The beautiful thing about philosophy is that it's a licence to be interested in everything, but it's a *duty* to be interested in everything too.

Almost everybody is a philosopher, I can prove this easily: anybody who goes to the pub will know that as the evening goes on, you get smarter and more deep-thinking. We all like to discuss great questions. And it's important that we do. I think that the quest for explanations, understanding and insight is natural to us as human beings.

Whose work do you think towers above the rest?

Of the really great western philosophers, three stand out: Plato, Aristotle and Immanuel Kant. These three figures have gone so much deeper into the problems that philosophy throws up, and have provided ways of thinking that have changed the nature of the conversation after their time. That is what I think singles them out as truly great.

[The 20th-century philosopher] Alfred North Whitehead said that "all philosophy is footnotes to Plato", and that isn't too gross an exaggeration. If you look at Plato's work, you see that he identified the real problems and touched on almost every major topic in philosophy.

Now Aristotle; what a great genius Aristotle was, the most extraordinary mind. His interests ranged right across what we would call science, politics, ethics and the deepest questions about the very nature of existence. Aristotle almost single-handedly created the science of logic. Although we have a large number of his works, most of those that he actually wrote for publication have now been lost. His dialogues, none of which survive, were described as literary masterpieces even greater than those written by Plato, his teacher – and Plato's dialogues are among the great treasures of world literature.

Like Aristotle before him, Kant [1724–1804] had a universal mind. He lectured on all sorts of things including astronomy, mathematics and military fortifications. When he was in his late 40s, he finally settled down and devoted himself to his great philosophical works.

Kant was writing at a point in history where two major philosophical traditions, empiricism [the belief that the origin of knowledge lies in sensory experience] and rationalism [which argues that reason is the path to knowledge], had gelled into alternative ways of thinking about understanding. But in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, he found a way of showing how elements of both traditions are important for making sense of how we see the world.

Ideas live on far beyond the thinker who conceived them. How have concepts been reimaged or misinterpreted over time?

Nietzsche provides a prime example of this. After he died, his sister, who was very conservative and rather reactionary, used bits of his writings to make him appear like some sort of forerunner of Nazism. Nietzsche was actually very hostile to anti-Semitism and nationalism, so he was anything but a Nazi. But, as Cardinal Richelieu once said: "Give me six lines that anybody has written and I can use them to have that man hanged." This is exactly what happened here –

// Plato, Aristotle and Kant are the three greatest western philosophers. They changed the nature of the conversation after their time //



A new outlook Singers enjoy the countryside in a 16th-century painting. The emergence of art focussing on natural beauty and personal experience reflected a new way of looking at the world during the Renaissance, argues AC Grayling

Nietzsche's views were distorted to present him in a quite different light to one that he would have agreed with.

The thing to remember is that the history of philosophy is the history of a conversation. We who study philosophy now are constantly in dialogue with our forebears, and that conversation always involves interpretation and reinterpretation. When we look at philosophers of the past, we have to try and reconstruct what it is that they were striving for.

Let me give you an example. The person regarded as the first philosopher was a man called Thales, who lived in the early sixth century BC. He said that everything has a soul. He referred to a magnet which could draw bits of iron to itself, which he took to mean that it must have a little soul in it. Now, he didn't literally mean a *soul* as we might imagine it – with little feathery wings on. What he meant was a power and an ability to act upon other things. But he didn't have the vocabulary or the conceptual scheme available to express that, as he was the first person trying to articulate this idea. So in order to make sense of Thales' views, you have to look into what it was he was trying to express and not just *how* he was expressing it. This is especially tricky with ancient philosophers, as a huge amount of the culture of classical antiquity has been lost or destroyed, and so much of what they wrote or said comes to us only in bits and pieces.

What do you think makes a particular idea catch fire?

Ideas take root if they really touch a nerve, and hit on an intellectual and an emotional need in us that has to be satisfied. Sometimes brilliant ideas have to wait for their time, like a seed in the ground, before they can really shoot up. But, at other times, ways of thinking can become so entrenched in societies that they start to ossify. Philosophy should always challenge our assumptions, otherwise we end up getting stuck in old habits and ways of thinking which can be bad for us, both individually and as a society.

Ideas find their time when they offer something fresh, and help us to see things that we didn't see before. **H**

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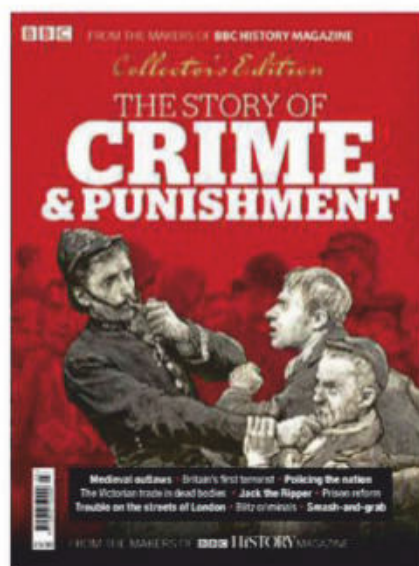
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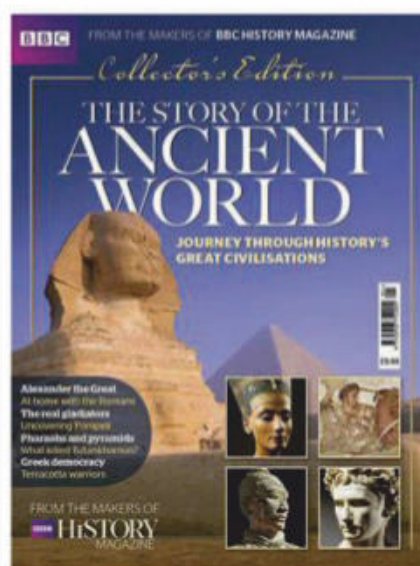
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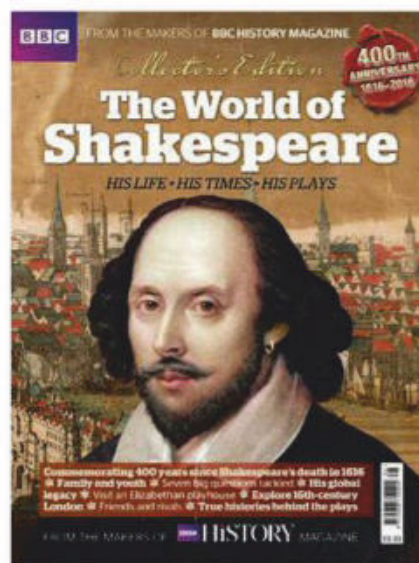
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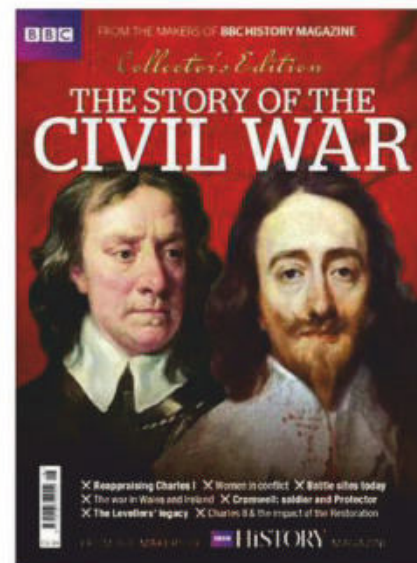
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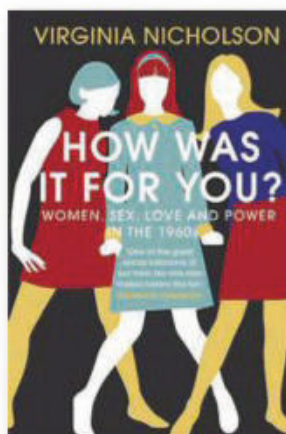
New horizons

Rolling Stones fans wait to meet their idols. A new book by Virginia Nicholson charts a variety of female experiences in the 1960s

1960S BRITAIN

A decade of double standards

SARAH CROOK relishes a rich and thought-provoking study of the sixties that swerves clichés about free love to ask: did its changes herald a better life for women?



How Was it for You?: Women, Sex, Love and Power in the 1960s

by Virginia Nicholson
(Viking, 512 pages, £20)

At the opening of this poignant and humane study, Virginia Nicholson

invites us to imagine the elderly women around us as they were in the 1960s in the

flush of youth: at antiwar protests, wearing Biba dresses, donning the attire of a Mod or a Rocker, making love to the sounds of Jethro Tull. For, as this book demonstrates, the social shifts of the sixties can be explored in these more granular ways. Placards, music and fashion tell profound, personal stories about cultural change.

Using interviews, biographies and personal recollections, Nicholson pulls women's experiences to the fore of the history of the sixties. These interviews allow her to eschew nostalgia: the 'swinging sixties', she shows, were uneven and contradictory. Due to

geography or generation, not everyone who lived through the period could participate. Nicholson, herself born in 1955 and therefore too young to join in with the period's excesses, asks of the decade: "Have I missed out, have I been their beneficiary, or have I in truth had a narrow escape?"

After reading this book, we might conclude the answer is a combination of all three. Popular conceptions of the 1960s may well be that "it was a decade whose radiant light show sprinkled everything it touched with stardust: a time of space travel and utopian dreams, but above all of sexual

abandonment”, but as Nicholson demonstrates, this cliché obscures the sexual politics of the period. Sexual liberation, Nicholson suggests, did not benefit men and women equally. While some women enjoyed the rewards of the culture of free love, others found that it gave men increased licence to treat women as disposable objects. Singer Beryl Marsden told Nicholson that one-night stands “didn’t make you feel nice, or good. I didn’t even enjoy sex then! I thought it was horrible really. Mad, isn’t it?” The permissive society did not uproot misogyny, or sexual double standards. Sexism took various forms, from unequal pay and the uneven division of labour in the workplace to unabashed sexual harassment. Women were expected to take responsibility for contraception and to bear the brunt of the consequences when things went wrong. From the press treatment of Christine Keeler and Mandy Rice-Davies to the bunny girls in Hugh Hefner’s Playboy Club, women’s bodies were judged, and their sexuality commodified. Even for the ‘Beautiful People’ – those moving in the most envied and lively circles – ‘free love’ did not automatically free women or men from the emotions entangled with sex.

Nonetheless, the decade was also a period of fun, opportunity and excitement. Outmoded social norms no longer applied. London, in particular, pulsed with new opportunities. In 1964 Mavis Wilson, a working-class girl who left school at 16, became a receptionist at a fashionable art gallery, which gave her entry to London’s vibrant art scene. “You just got invitations to every single opening that happened – and loads happened,” she reflects. “You could go to a party every night.” Class boundaries were not as rigid as they once were. Neither were

// Sexual liberation and the culture of ‘free love’ did not benefit men and women equally //

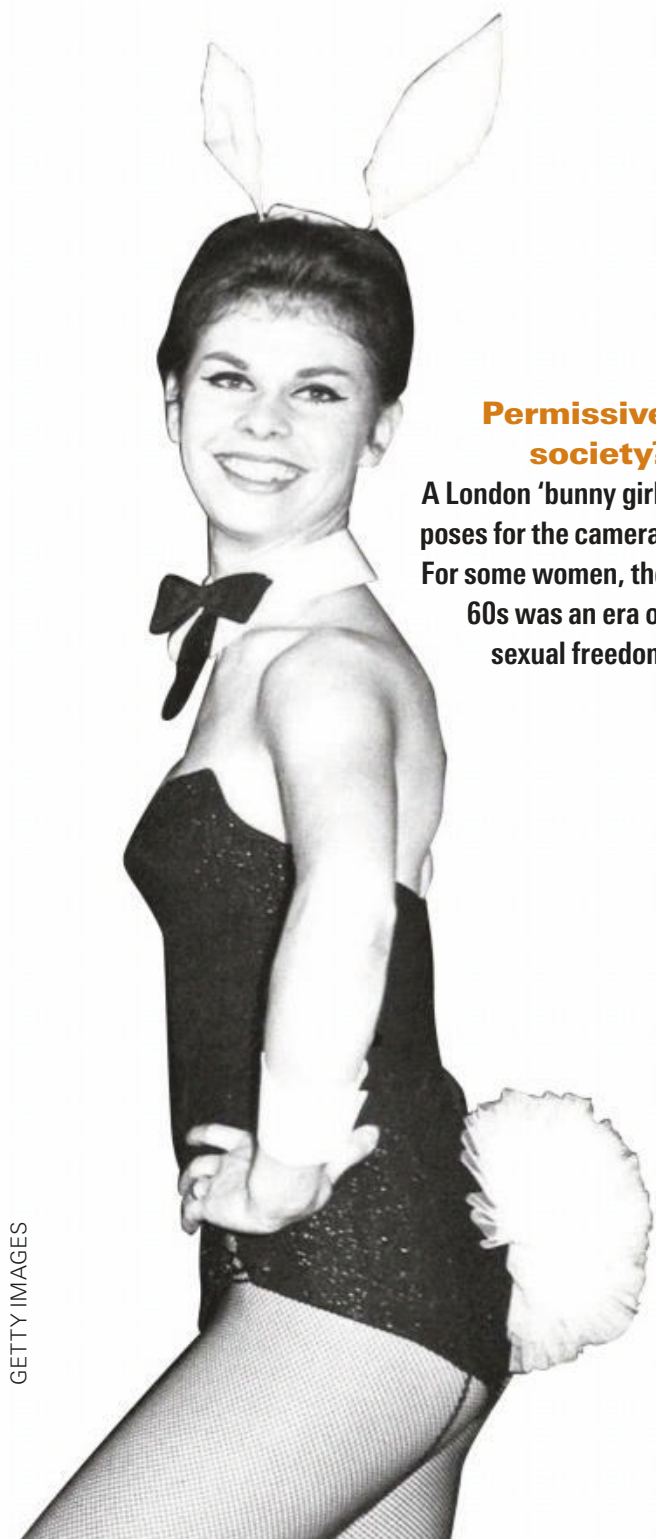
gender ideologies. Hippy culture, with its emphasis on peace, love and psychedelia, rejected the masculine traits of war and violence. Those on the frontline of sexual permissiveness felt that new opportunities for enjoyment had been opened to them. A former bunny girl told Nicholson that she loved being a rabbit: “It was a job, it was good pay – and all I can tell you is that it was FUN. It really was. Fun, *fun*, fun.”

Not everyone was quite so convinced by the fun, however. Anthea Millican, a dedicated Christian who started at Reading University in 1963, told Nicholson that the cultural upheaval was “nonsense”, asking: “How can we completely ignore our wellsprings, and our history, and break up our family lives, and snub our parents?” Others grew frustrated with the oppressions faced by women. From the ferment of the 1960s, Nicholson shows, the feminist intellectual energy of the women’s liberation movement emerged.

Beautifully written, *How Was it for You?* is a rich, readable and thought-provoking investigation of sexual cultures in the 1960s. Nicholson proves that putting women at the heart of the history of the sixties changes our understanding of a decade in which sex, love and power were all to play for. **H**

Sarah Crook is a lecturer at Swansea University. She specialises in modern British and women’s history

Permissive society?
A London ‘bunny girl’ poses for the camera. For some women, the 60s was an era of sexual freedom



GETTY IMAGES

5 OTHER BOOKS ON...

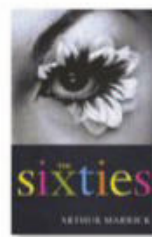
... life in the 1960s

Five more reads on a decade that revolutionised British culture



The Sixties by Jenny Diski
(Profile, 2010)

Was the 1960s really all acid trips, peace protests and free love? Diski interrogates some of the myths surrounding a decade that was rife with contradictions.



The Sixties: Social and Cultural Transformation in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, 1958-74 by Arthur Marwick
(Oxford, 1999)

From feminism and civil rights to youth and art movements, Marwick compares cultural change across Europe and the US from 1958 to 1974: a ‘decade’ of transition that, in his reading, encompasses more than just 10 years.



Promise of a Dream: Remembering the Sixties

by Sheila Rowbotham
(Verso, 2001)

Historian Sheila Rowbotham turns an analytical eye on her own generation in this memoir, recounting her experience of an era of activism and thrilling opportunity.



White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties, 1964-1970

by Dominic Sandbrook
(Little, Brown, 2006)

This readable narrative charts the highs and lows of the decade through its key events and most colourful characters, ranging from Wilson in the corridors of Westminster to Jagger on the streets of swinging London.



The Long '68: Radical Protest and its Enemies by Richard Vinen
(Allen Lane, 2018)

1968 was a year that set the western world alight. As civil rights and anti-war protests erupted in the US, British students took up their placards, French workers went on strike and West German teenagers turned on their parents. Vinen examines the fall-out of that year’s widespread discontent.

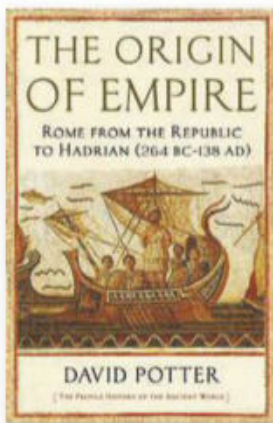
MORE FROM US

Virginia Nicholson talks about women’s experiences in the 1960s on our podcast: historyextra.com/podcasts

ANCIENT ROME

How Hannibal met his match

DAISY DUNN applauds a readable march through Roman history, from the defeat of Carthage to the establishment of the largest multi-ethnic state Europe has ever seen



The Origin of Empire: Rome from the Republic to Hadrian, 264 BC–38 AD

by David Potter
(Profile Books, 448 pages, £30)

By the time he died in battle in c229 BC, the Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca had expanded his power base and established “not a Carthaginian state in Spain, but rather a Spanish state run by Carthaginians”, as David Potter puts it in his expansive new history of Rome. The book opens with the Romans making the crossing into Sicily that led them to engage directly with Carthage. This crossing, says Potter, was the Romans’ “first step in the acquisition of their empire”.

The ensuing Punic wars, which Rome waged against Carthage between 264 and 146 BC, were fraught with difficulties. Hamilcar’s son, Hannibal, fostered a hatred of the Romans and violent ambition for his people to defeat and replace them as leaders of the world. He also had at his disposal a sizeable army; Potter suggests that he invaded Italy with an infantry of 20,000 and cavalry of 6,000. And then there were the animals. When the Romans finally met Hannibal’s forces at Zama, in modern Tunisia, in 202 BC, they had to contend with what Potter imaginatively calls “a tsunami of elephants”.

Fortunately, the Romans’ commander, Scipio, knew better than to allow exotic beasts to trample their success. The animals, Potter relates, were cornered in tight gaps where they were disposed of by the infantry. The Roman cavalry then came at the Carthaginians from the rear. The tactics proved so successful that the fearsome Hannibal had little choice but to surrender. The exultant Scipio even added ‘Africanus’ to his name in recognition of his victory.

If Rome’s empire was hard won, then its preservation was a near impossible feat. Every ambitious man had his own ideas about what it should look like and how he might leave his mark upon it. Potter proceeds chronologically through the Punic wars to the late



Beasts of battle A 16th-century depiction of the battle of Zama. Fought between Roman troops led by Scipio and the Carthaginians under Hannibal in 202 BC, the battle marked the end of the Second Punic War

// The Romans had to contend with what Potter imaginatively calls ‘a tsunami of elephants’. But Scipio knew better than to allow exotic animals to trample their success //

republic, when Scipio’s famous but short-lived grandson Tiberius Gracchus set out his populist legislation for reform. And in the second half of the book he looks at the emperors who ruled after the republic finally collapsed. The challenge for many of them was how to win glory while maintaining the frontiers their predecessors had established.

Potter follows a traditional ‘grand narrative’ of Roman history that stresses how “a democracy tore itself apart and ultimately voted itself out of existence” to bow to a line

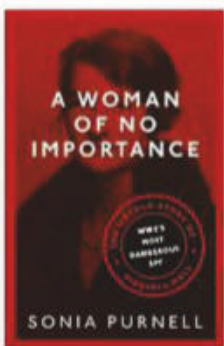
of emperors. He includes a vast cast of characters, culminating with Hadrian, and documents in some detail how they responded to the dilemmas they faced in building and managing “the most successful multi-ethnic, multicultural state in the history of Europe and the Mediterranean”.

Potter draws especially widely on the historical accounts of Polybius, Tacitus and Livy – the last of whom, we learn, filled an impressive 142 papyrus rolls in roughly 50 years. He also quotes widely from works of literature, particularly the often overlooked Latin comedies, to provide some insight into the culture of the period. It would have been nice to read more on the art of Rome and its political significance, and to have found fewer parentheses along the lines of “(We will see further instances of this sort of diplomacy anon)”. Nonetheless, *The Origin of Empire* is a highly readable history of a fascinating period. **H**

Daisy Dunn is the author of *In the Shadow of Vesuvius: A Life of Pliny* (William Collins, 2019)

SECOND WORLD WAR

Special agent



A Woman of No Importance: The Untold Story of WWII's Most Dangerous Spy, Virginia Hall by Sonia Purnell

(Virago, 416 pages, £20)

As the Second World War engulfed Europe, an isolated Britain desperately searched for a way to turn the tide. The Special Operations Executive planted agents behind enemy lines to spy, subvert and sabotage, and to organise resistance to overthrow occupying forces. In 1941, the SOE took a chance on a tall, red-haired American woman, recently returned from France. Defying expectations, Virginia Hall proved to be a remarkable and effective agent, and became legendary among the French Resistance. Her achievements were even more outstanding given that, following a hunting accident before the war, she had a prosthetic leg, and also had to overcome prejudices against women in the warzone.

Sonia Purnell tells Hall's story in this focused

and fully immersive narrative, packed with heart-in-mouth moments. Hall hardly spoke of her wartime experience and many records were destroyed or remain classified, making Purnell's feat in uncovering and drawing together this information all the more impressive. Fluent in six languages, Hall had to be "authoritative and decisive", but she would be criticised for her unfeminine independence. She was also loyal: she "could never resist the call to help others, for all the peril she was in herself".

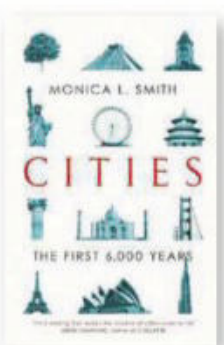
Carefully steering the reader through the complexities of wartime France, including the different factions within the Resistance, Purnell touches on well-known controversial episodes, such as the collapse of the Prosper network in 1943. The brutal treatment of those who were caught, alongside reprisals against their civilian helpers, makes for dark reading. However there are also moments of humour, with prickly parachute landings and exploding cowpats.

This biography is a welcome addition to SOE literature. Although Hall lived life on the edge, she was empowered by finding her true calling in espionage, and her determination to overcome any challenge is inspiring. **H**

.....
Elisabeth Shipton is the author of *Female Tommies* (History Press, 2014)

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

We built this city



Cities: The First 6,000 Years

by Monica L. Smith

(Simon & Schuster, 304 pages, £20)

Usually written by architects or historians, books about cities and urban development often provide only a cursory reflection on the emergence of human settlements. As an archaeologist and anthropologist, Monica L. Smith brings a refreshing and original perspective to understanding the origins and benefits of the city in this short book with a big history. Her aim is not to praise or condemn our modern cities, but understand why as a species we are drawn to them as the ultimate form of settlement.

Smith begins with her archaeological excavation of an "ancient trash dump" in central Rome. For her, it is the act of discarding that provides the most enduring evidence of urban activity, from the broken ceramics of ancient Rome to the discarded plastic crates in

the fish markets of modern Tokyo. From here, Smith intersperses the excitement of archaeological excavations seeking urban life's 'ground zero' with a fascinating account of the infrastructural demands of cities. She argues that the first city emerged in Tell Brak in Syria in at least the sixth millennium BC, and traces how urban settlement acted as a magnet for migration, establishing some permanence of place for our restless species. It is a compelling argument that enables her to explain how structural issues like hierarchies, consumption, multiculturalism, and water and waste management have always been at the heart of the creation of cities.

What Smith gains in her long archaeological and anthropological perspective, she also loses in a less historical account of the city's global emergence, and there is little sense of the problems associated with urban alienation and environmental problems over the last 200 years. Her conclusion that cities "are here to stay, for good" is obviously correct, but helpful though it is to take the longer view, it hardly addresses the current difficulties that confront those that live in them. **H**

.....
Jerry Brotton is the author of *A History of the World in Twelve Maps* (Penguin, 2013)

AUTHORS ON THE PODCAST

John Woolf on Victorian 'freak' performers

"If you were a person of short stature in the 19th century, opportunities were limited. You were facing a precarious life of hardship. Joining a 'freak show' could offer you a chance to become an independent economic agent in a world stacked against you. That could be an appealing prospect. So what you find in the freak show is this really complex dynamic between exploitation and empowerment."



Rachel Reeves on the first female MPs in Westminster

"When Nancy Astor became the first woman to take her seat in parliament in 1919, she said her male colleagues would have rather had a rattlesnake in the chamber. And I think she was right – they didn't like the change that was coming. Churchill even told Astor that having a woman in parliament was like a woman invading his bathroom when he had nothing to defend himself with except for a sponge."



Virginia Nicholson on women's lives in the 1960s

"The 1960s was a tug-of-war time for women. It was a decade of immense change, and its two bookends – the advent of the pill in 1961, and 1970 when women's liberation kicked off – are not disconnected. Between those two milestones there was a wealth of extraordinary experiences for women: the explosion of music, fashion and all sorts of creative adventures. But at the same time they were struggling with the undertow of the past and the old ideas of the 1950s."

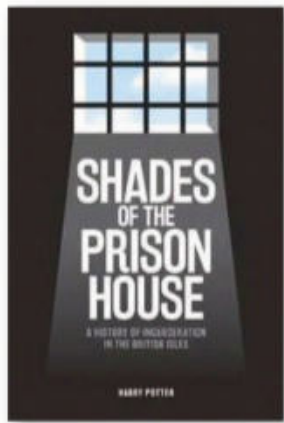


MORE FROM US

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Wall to wall coverage

MARK ROODHOUSE recommends a lively survey of imprisonment from medieval to modern-day Britain – including the sad decline of penal welfare in the late 20th century



Shades of the Prison House: A History of Incarceration in the British Isles
by Harry Potter (Boydell Press, 572 pages, £25)

Like Churchill, whom he cites approvingly, author Harry Potter considers that “the treatment of criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilisation of any country”. Drawing on his experience as a prison chaplain and barrister, it is a test he believes our current system has flunked. Overcrowding and underfunding mean today’s prisons are warehouses for what’s been termed the “bad, mad and sad”, of which the bad are the smallest group by far. In his view, this was not always the case and need not be the case today.

The book surveys the practice and experience of imprisonment in Britain from AD 600 to 2018. From the seventh century to the 19th, the prison was not the principal means of punishment. For most inmates, prison was a holding place pending trial and sentencing. Between 1750 and 1863, the British penal system was transformed. Prisons became sites of punishment and reform. The reasons for this were various and the subject of much debate among historians. While Potter knows the debate well, he has no time for Marxisant and Foucauldian critics of the prison’s rise. In a robust defence, Potter rejects the idea that reformers were the witting or unwitting architects of a penal system disciplining the workforce, and takes their religious motivation seriously.

Potter presents the penal welfarism of the period 1895–1965 as an ‘age of enlightenment’. With the borstal youth detention centres as their purest expression, this was a near golden age in which the prison service pursued a liberal, humanitarian vision that balanced retribution and deterrence with reform and rehabilitation.

This entertaining, informative narrative resembles what was the standard account of penal history until the late 1970s. Were Potter

to have ended his chronological survey in 1965, readers would enjoy a narrative of penal progress inspired by liberal ideals. But what happened next forces Potter to dispense with any Whiggish ideas of progress. Creeping and then galloping politicisation turned prisons into “large penal dustbins” by the early 1980s. Public support for penal welfarism had collapsed in the face of a seemingly unstoppable postwar rise in crime. Sensing votes in toughening penal policy, ministers took a harsher line on law and order. The prison population soared and disturbances followed, which initiated operational but not ideological change.

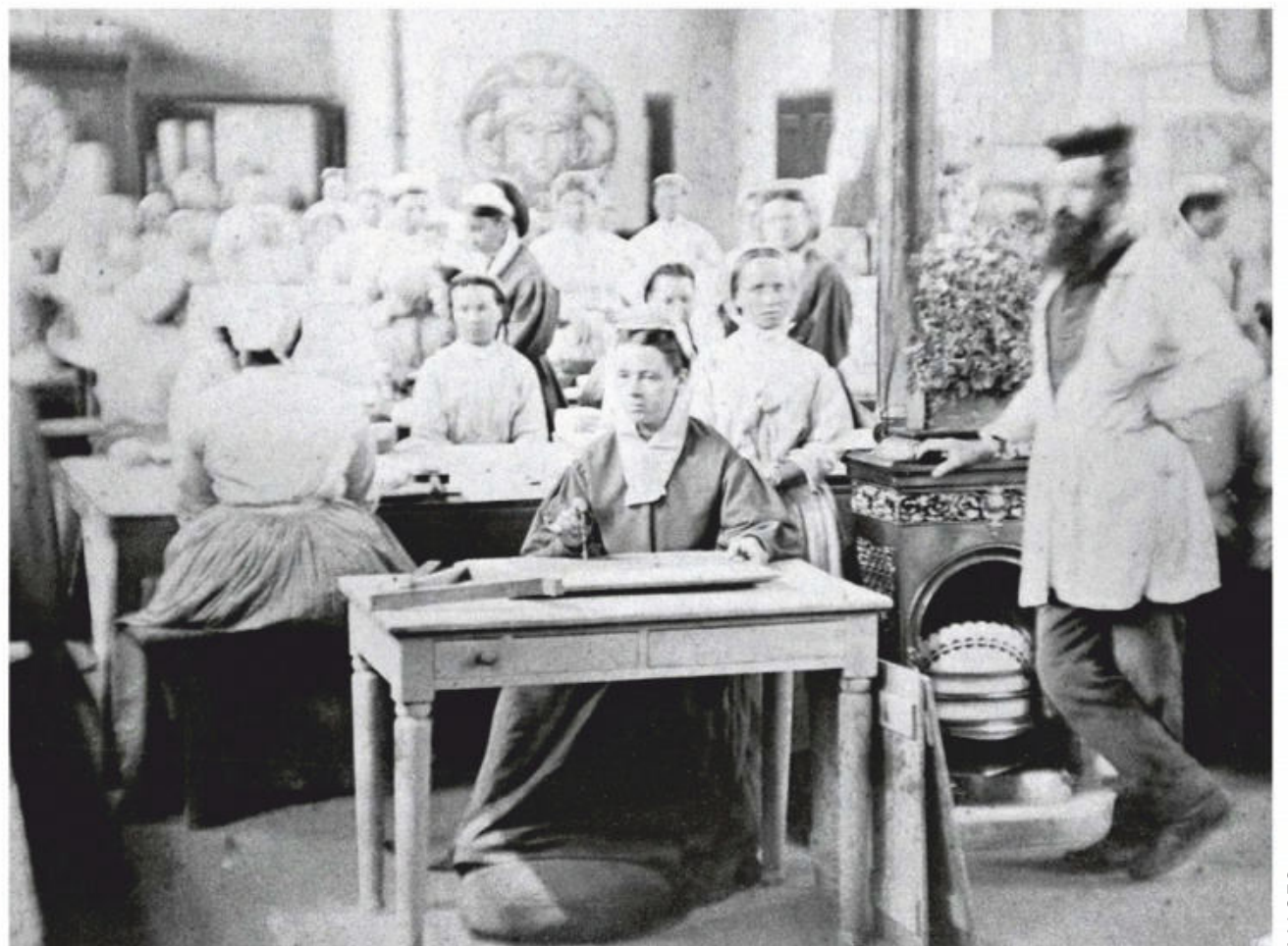
// Galloping politicisation had turned prisons into ‘large penal dustbins’ by the early 1980s //

Recent historic abuse scandals will no doubt colour some readings of the book, while data protection and freedom of information laws mean we still know relatively little of life inside prisons after 1918. Potter does what he can to enlighten readers, but the voices of politicians and prison governors drown out those of inmates and their guards.

Readers interested in the wider history of incarceration across the British Isles will be disappointed. Ireland receives much less attention than one would expect. A fuller consideration of incarceration there might have led Potter to unite the history of internment with the history of imprisonment, setting the experience of internees and prisoners of war alongside convicts.

Nevertheless, in narrating the rise and fall of penal welfarism in a lively and engaging manner, *Shades of the Prison House* deserves a wide readership. **H**

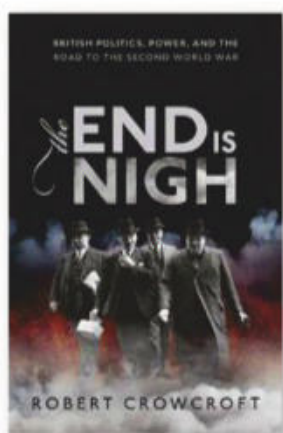
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Mark Roodhouse is reader in modern history at the University of York



House of correction Inmates at London’s Pentonville prison (opened in 1842) at work, making a mosaic for St Paul’s Cathedral. A new book documents how Britain’s penal system was transformed in the 19th century

The road to war

NIGEL JONES enjoys a penetrating study that upends orthodox assumptions about Churchill and his political rivals



The End Is Nigh: British Politics, Power, and the Road to the Second World War

by Robert Crowcroft
(Oxford University Press,
304 pages, £25)

This is proving a bumper year for

books dealing with appeasement and the run-up to the Second World War, the latest of which is this penetrating, well-written study of the period.

Robert Crowcroft interrogates some of our orthodox assumptions about that era, and comes up with convincingly argued conclusions. Churchill, the central figure in the drama, emerges as more of an opportunist politician than a great statesman. Crowcroft concentrates on his often-overlooked opposition to the National Government's proposals for limited Indian self-rule, highlighting that he devoted the same formidable energy to this lost cause as he did to opposing the appeasement of Nazi Germany.

Churchill was an unashamed imperialist, but his personal ambitions played a part too. Kept out of office by his Conservative colleagues, he calculated that he could force his way back into the cabinet by making such a nuisance of himself over India that Stanley Baldwin and his successor, Neville Chamberlain, would prefer to have him inside the tent peeing out than outside peeing in. Only when that plan failed did Churchill turn his attention to opposing appeasement.

Without rehabilitating Chamberlain's reputation, or that of his fellow Tory appeasers, Crowcroft demonstrates the constraints that governed their timid policy. Public revulsion towards another war made Baldwin and Chamberlain reluctant to spend money on defence. Nor did the Labour party, despite their noisy anti-fascism, do much to act against the Nazi threat. Both government and opposition misplaced their faith in the toothless League of Nations, which, when push came to shove (with Fascist Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, and with Hitler,

Mussolini and Stalin's armed support for the rival sides in the Spanish Civil War) proved ineffective in countering dictators' aggression.

Crowcroft shows up the hollowness of Britain's power, whose global reach far exceeded its actual grasp as it struggled in the midst of the Great Depression. The war proved that British empire was in reality a near-bankrupt paper lion. But this excellent book is as much a study in personal politics as an examination of international strategy. Crowcroft argues that his main actors – Eden, Attlee and Bevin, along with Baldwin, Chamberlain and Churchill – were motivated as much by petty private prejudices and ambitions as high-flown public principles.

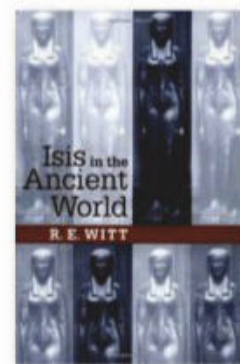
If the book has a hero, it is the distinctly unheroic figure of Stanley Baldwin, a canny operator saluted by his enemy Churchill as the most formidable politician he had ever known – who surmounted major crises like the general strike and the abdication with consummate ease. Baldwin, says Crowcroft, was the first truly modern politician, who honed his image as a phlegmatic, pipe-smoking 'typical Englishman' using filmed newsreels. As a result, he dominated the political landscape for the interwar years, and personified the Conservative ascendancy.

// Politicians were motivated as much by petty private prejudices and ambitions as high-flown public principles //

But Baldwin's weakness, like Chamberlain's, was an ignorance about and disinterest in foreign affairs that amounted to culpable negligence. The result, as Churchill prophesied, was shameful humiliation and a catastrophic war that Britain helped to win, but which paradoxically ended her position as a global power. **H**

Nigel Jones's books include *Countdown to Valkyrie* (Frontline Books, 2009)

Joann Fletcher on a book that charts the rise of an all-conquering goddess



Isis in the Ancient World

by Reginald Witt
(first published 1971)

As an Egyptologist fascinated by the ways ancient Egypt still permeates the modern world, this book was a total revelation when I first read it 30 years ago.

Its author, the classical scholar Reginald Witt, creates a compelling account of how the relatively minor goddess Aset rose from a supporting role among Egypt's numerous deities to take over the identities of every other goddess. As 'Myrionymos' – 'She of Countless Names' – she was claimed to be "more clever than a million gods". The cult of this all-powerful mother figure then spread across the Mediterranean world, with the Greeks rendering Aset's Egyptian name as 'Isis'. This rebranding was enthusiastically promoted by Egypt's Ptolemaic-Greek rulers, whose female pharaohs (including Cleopatra) were regarded as 'Isis Incarnate'. When the Romans took control of Egypt in 30 BC, Isis's powers had become so great that she was honoured by successive emperors, appearing on their coinage and worshipped around their expanding empire as far north as Roman York.

With Isis's popularity based on her ability to bestow eternal life, the extraordinary longevity of a cult based on love and tolerance certainly has much to teach the modern world. And although this is no lightweight read, it remains a book I return to, inspired by Witt's ability to explain how Egyptian beliefs spread as far afield as northern Britain almost 2,000 years ago. **H**

Professor Joann Fletcher is based at the University of York. Her latest book is *The Story of Egypt* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2015)



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FICTION

The Devil's Slave

by Tracy Borman
(Hodder & Stoughton,
432 pages, £16.99)

**Courtly dramas**

James VI & I's royal court simmers with political conspiracies and clandestine romances in this sequel to Borman's debut novel *The King's Witch*. We pick up the story in the spring of 1603, with our heroine Frances Gorges pregnant and in hiding. She is offered a chance to return to court, but is she willing to sacrifice her freedom for the opportunity? One for fans of Philippa Gregory and Alison Weir.

ILLUSTRATED

Manga

ed. by Nicole Coolidge
Rousmaniere and Matsuba Ryoko
(Thames & Hudson with the British
Museum, 256 pages, £29.95)

**Graphic content**

Few forms of art are as instantly recognisable as Manga. Translated as 'art run riot', this dynamic Japanese graphic style has spread its influence far and wide, from prints and comic books to animation, gaming and street art. Accompanying this year's major British Museum exhibition, this new book traces Manga's global boom, charting a history with much longer roots than you might expect.

CHILDREN'S

The Race to Space

by Clive Gifford and
Paul Daviz
(Quarto, 64 pages, age 7+, £12.99)

**A space odyssey**

A spate of books on all things space are being released for the 50th anniversary of the Moon Landings this year. Aimed at children aged 7+, this one looks at the event with a wider angle lens, placing it in the context of the technological rivalry that powered US and Soviet space exploration. Adding colour to the story are Paul Daviz's bold illustrations, which cleverly evoke the imagery of Cold War propaganda.

WW2

Bletchley Park and D-Day

by David Kenyon
(Yale, 320 pages, £20)

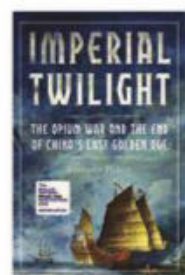
**Cracking the code**

For the D-Day landings to have a good chance of success, the Allies would require the best information available on the German defences they were about to face. As the clock ticked down towards 6 June, an army of code-breakers were deployed to decipher enemy signals. Kenyon, a research historian at Bletchley, explores how the intelligence processed there helped shape the course of the 'Longest Day'.

INTERNATIONAL

Imperial Twilight

by Stephen Platt
(Atlantic, 560 pages, £10.99)
NOW IN PAPERBACK

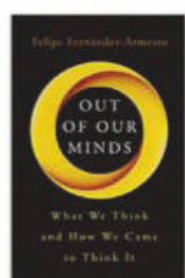
**The drug trade**

Opium was big business in China in the 18th and early 19th centuries, and the East India Company one of its leading suppliers. Efforts by the Chinese government to end the trade led to a British military response that ushered in a period of political unrest and economic weakening. This epic history is here rendered eminently accessible in an elegantly written account that never loses sight of the context or key players.

IDEAS

Out of Our Minds

by Felipe Fernández-Armesto
(Oneworld, 480 pages, £25)

**Science, illustrated**

Which forces helped generate and transmit the ideas that have shaped the modern world? That's the question at the heart of this idiosyncratic, wide-ranging intellectual history. The expected elements are here (religion, agriculture, the Renaissance, nationalism) – but they are elegantly blended with less familiar ingredients: chaos, cannibalism and 'cyber-ghettoes'. This is thought-provoking stuff.

POLITICS

From Cold War to Hot Peace

by Michael McFaul
(Allen Lane, 528 pages, £12.99)
NOW IN PAPERBACK

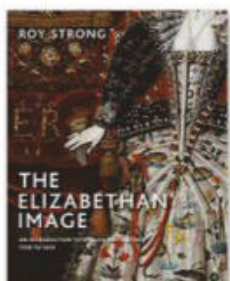
**A relationship in crisis?**

This account of the highs and lows of US-Soviet relations over the past four decades mixes abstract analysis, historical narrative, and personal anecdote (McFaul is a professor of political science and former US ambassador to Russia) with insightful results. From the thaw ushered in by Mikhail Gorbachev to the recent hardening under Trump and Putin, it's a valuable guide to how we got to the present.

VISUAL

The Elizabethan Image: An Introduction to Elizabethan Portraiture

by Roy Strong
(Yale, 224 pages, £35)

**Slavery and suspicion**

Stood astride a map of England, a storm thundering in the distance, 1592's 'Ditchley Portrait' of Elizabeth I remains familiar, 400 years on. Such familiarity, this visual history argues, obscures the fact that many images of the queen were intended only for private consumption. Even if they *were* meant to be seen, portraits of other sitters were laced with mystery and symbolism – glimpses into a lost world. **H**



VISIT

Culture wars

A trio of free exhibitions will go on display at IWM London this summer as part of the museum's Culture Under Attack season, exploring how art, music and heritage have been affected by conflicts across the globe.

Curated in partnership with Historic England, *What Remains* looks at how sentimentally important buildings and artefacts have been targeted in wartime, while another display, *Art in Exile*, reveals how treasures from British museums and galleries were evacuated during the Blitz.

Meanwhile, *Rebel Sounds* examines the subversive role that musicians have played during times of oppression, ranging from swing bands in Nazi Germany to those who have defied an outright ban on music under recent Islamist rule in northern Mali. The season will also include a programme of performances and talks from artists who have risked their lives for culture.

Culture Under Attack

IWM London / 5 July–5 January 2020 /
iwm.org.uk/seasons/culture-under-attack

Lost to history

A Georgian terrace lies in ruins following bombing raids on Exeter in 1942. The destruction of heritage through war is explored in the *What Remains* exhibition.

ENCOUNTERS

82 DIARY: LISTEN / WATCH / VISIT

By Jon Bauckham and Jonathan Wright

88 EXPLORE... Lord's Cricket Ground

90 TRAVEL TO... Nashville





Weary farmworkers take a rest in a French painting from 1877

LISTEN

Tired and emotional

We think of exhaustion as a modern phenomenon, caused by busy work and family lives, and the complications that come from living in a world in which digital technology means we never fully disconnect from the office. But if this is true, writer Philip Ball asks in a new documentary, why do successive generations think they are more exhausted than their predecessors? Could it be that the history of exhaustion is really a history of what it's like to live in a changing world – that every generation experiences a new version of modernity?

Exhaustion: A History

Scheduled for Monday 1 July / BBC Radio 4



VISIT

Behind the tartan

From 18th-century oil paintings to the rural idyll epitomised by Queen Victoria's Balmoral estate, the National Museum of Scotland's latest exhibition reveals how Romantic interpretations of Scottish culture helped shape the country's identity.

The display also looks at the beginnings of the Scottish tourism industry, and the reasons that tartan and bagpipes came to symbolise the nation for the rest of the world.

Wild & Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland

National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh /
26 June–10 November / nms.ac.uk

VISIT

Revisiting bloodshed

Despite being thousands of miles apart, Manchester Museum has collaborated with India's Partition Museum to curate a joint display marking the centenary of the Amritsar Massacre, in which British soldiers opened fire on unarmed civilians, killing hundreds.

Using eyewitness accounts, photographs and official documents, the exhibition revisits the massacre in detail, exploring the findings of subsequent inquiries and the role the events played in the quest for Indian independence.

Other items on display include Punjabi textiles from the nearby Whitworth Art Gallery, plus a new triptych by artists the Singh Twins (pictured).

Jallianwala Bagh 1919: Punjab Under Siege

Manchester Museum /
Until 2 October / Free entry /
museum.manchester.ac.uk



WEEKLY TV & RADIO

Visit historyextra.com for weekly updates on upcoming TV and radio programmes



The 1900 Island transports four families back in time to experience life in a remote Welsh fishing village at the turn of the 20th century

WATCH

Coastal adventure

Located on the edge of Anglesey at the entrance to the Menai Strait, the tidal island of Llanddwyn hadn't been occupied for 70 years until very recently, when four families temporarily moved into a row of renovated cottages.

The families headed for Llanddwyn not as tourists, but to recreate life in a fishing community at the turn of the 20th century. They arrived with just enough food to get them started in homes that, even after the builders had moved out, still lacked running water and electricity.

In a fascinating series, first broadcast on BBC One Wales, these 21st-century interlopers have to go through a steep learning curve as they learn to fish in waters that even Nelson thought treacherous, and to forage for cockles, mussels and laver seaweed.

The rigidity of 19th-century gender roles, the dreariness of the diet and complaining children also prove challenging, but all come to value the community that forms when you have no choice but to cooperate with your neighbours.

The 1900 Island

Scheduled for the summer / BBC Two and BBC iPlayer



Dr Kevin Fong reveals how 1969's Apollo 11 mission very nearly ended in tragedy

LISTEN

Disaster averted?

It wasn't just the crew of Apollo 13 who faced difficulties in space. On 20 July 1969, as Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin were entering the final stage of Apollo 11's journey to the lunar surface, communication with Mission Control was breaking down, technology was starting to fail and fuel was running low.

These 13 dramatic minutes give their name to a new BBC World Service podcast series. This doesn't mean it has a narrow focus, though. Just the opposite: *13 Minutes to the Moon* jumps back from specific moments during the astronauts' descent to tell the wider story of the Apollo programme. The first episode, for example, looks at how and why the Americans turned to V2 designer Wernher von Braun to fulfil John F Kennedy's 1961 promise to send men to the moon by the end of the decade.

Presented by Dr Kevin Fong, the series features extensive interviews with many of those who worked on Apollo, including astronauts Michael Collins and Jim Lovell. You can read their reminiscences, as well as those of other members of the team, in the latest issue of *BBC World Histories* magazine, on sale now.

13 Minutes to the Moon

Weekly episodes available now / Podcast, BBC Sounds & BBC World Service
bbc.co.uk/sounds

HISTORY ON THE AIRWAVES

"You're in an open space with your friends, using your mind and body – there is a catharsis about doing it"



RICHARD OSGOOD (left), senior archaeologist at the Ministry of Defence, reveals how archaeology can improve the wellbeing of military personnel, as explored in BBC Radio 4's *Open Country*

BBC
RADIO

4

Why does the Ministry of Defence require archaeologists?

The Ministry of Defence owns a great deal of land, about 1 per cent of the British mainland, for its training. This includes a lot of the nation's heritage, including 777 scheduled monuments and six registered battlefields. As senior archaeologist at the MoD's Defence Infrastructure Organisation, which looks after the military estate both in the UK and overseas, it's my job to ensure this heritage is protected.

How do soldiers get involved?

It started with the Rifles, who in 2011 had quite a bad tour in Afghanistan, and had several people in barracks who needed to get out and do things. One of the guys was passionate about archaeology, and so his medical sergeant came and had a chat with me. We set up a project – Operation Nightingale – on Salisbury Plain to do some field archaeology at a site called Chisenbury Midden, which involved recovering Iron Age pottery that the badgers had been kicking out.

How did this help the soldiers?

You're in an open space, you're with your friends, you're working quite hard using your mind and body, and sitting around a campfire in the evenings. There just seemed to be a catharsis in doing that.

I also do work with Breaking Ground Heritage, an organisation that brings in veterans to digs, and was set up by Richard Bennett, a former Royal Marine Commando who came to archaeology as an Operation Nightingale participant.

We had him working on a Saxon burial, and after that he was hooked and got a first in archaeology at Exeter University. He's a really inspirational figure.

Tell us about the dig featured in *Open Country*.

I've been working with Breaking Ground Heritage and professionals from Cotswold Archaeology at a site in a village called Cherington, near Tetbury. The site was initially found by metal detectorists, who discovered prestigious Anglo-Saxon items. A geophysical survey has subsequently revealed a large Roman enclosure and maybe some Bronze Age burial mounds.

We've uncovered a couple of burials here, including a really, really rich Anglo-Saxon burial, of national importance, but sited in an old Roman building's foundation ditch – quite an unusual location. It's just great to see the team sharing the same excitement I've always had discovering this wonderful stuff. Speaking to you now, I can hear the skylarks singing. It couldn't really be any better. **H**

Richard Osgood is senior archaeologist at the MoD's Defence Infrastructure Organisation and was recently named Archaeologist of the Year by *Current Archaeology*. He appears in an episode of *Open Country* (BBC Radio 4, Thursday 4 July), presented by Mary-Ann Ochota



Listeners will be able to follow the progress of an archaeological dig at Cherington in the Cotswolds



This easy-to-make dessert blends sweet and savoury flavours

TASTE

Dulcia domestica

Some of the most revealing clues about the culinary preferences of the ancient Romans can be found in a single cookbook, *De re coquinaria* ('On the subject of cooking'), compiled in the late fourth or early fifth century AD.

One of the easiest recipes from the book to recreate is a dessert known as 'dulcia domestica', which translates as 'a home-made sweet'. Taking only a few minutes to put together, this decadent treat involves stuffing dates with nuts and stewing them in red wine infused with honey. The addition of salt and pepper may seem strange at first, but the contrast between the sweet and savoury flavours works surprisingly well.

Difficulty: 2/10 / **Time:** 10 minutes

INGREDIENTS

200g fresh or dried dates
50g ground nuts or pine kernels
Red wine
3 tbsp honey
Salt and ground pepper to taste

METHOD

Remove the stones from the dates and stuff each one with a handful of nuts or pine kernels.

Sprinkle the fruit with salt and pepper, and place in a saucepan with 3 tbsp of honey and enough red wine to cover them (we recommend skewering the dates with a toothpick beforehand to prevent the nuts from falling out).

Simmer on a low heat for five minutes or until the skins start to peel away. Remove the toothpicks and serve immediately.

VISIT

Challenging perceptions

The fabled connection between Jewish people and money has long been used to stoke anti-Semitic prejudice, as seen in Nazi propaganda and Shakespeare's villainous creation Shylock.

Drawing upon more than 2,000 years of history, a new exhibition at Jewish Museum London explores the origins of the stereotype, using a wide collection of manuscripts, art, film and literature to separate fact from fiction.

From the experiences of wealthy financiers to poor economic migrants, the exhibition looks at the role of money in Jewish life, and how damaging tropes have been used to suit a variety of political agendas.

Among the items on display is Rembrandt's rarely seen painting *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, as well as a new commission by artist Jeremy Deller, based on historic archive footage. Other highlights include Judean coins from the first century BC, when Jewish citizens adopted their own currency in defiance of Roman rule.

Jews, Money, Myth

Jewish Museum London / Until 7 July / jewishmuseum.org.uk/exhibitions/jews-money-myth



An Italian propaganda poster produced in 1944, claiming that Jewish bankers sought to profit from the ongoing war

WATCH

Southern odyssey

In 1962, pianist and composer Don Shirley embarked on a tour of the Deep South. In an era of overt racism, this was a dangerous undertaking for a black musician and, as his bodyguard and driver, Shirley was accompanied by Italian-American bouncer Frank 'Tony Lip' Vallelonga.

The relationship between two very different men, played respectively by Mahershala Ali and Viggo Mortensen, lies at the centre of director and co-writer Peter Farrelly's comedy-drama *Green Book*, named for a guidebook aimed at African-American travellers in search of motels, restaurants and filling stations. Over the course of the story, mutual incomprehension and antagonism gradually give way to friendship.

On its cinema release, the film was criticised for its racial politics, making it a controversial choice when it won Best Picture at the Academy Awards. Nevertheless, the central performances, especially Ali's Oscar-winning turn as Shirley, a proud man moving through a world that underestimates him purely because of the colour of his skin, are powerful yet nuanced.

Green Book

DVD / Blu-ray / digital download.
Entertainment One / Cert: 12





Anti-treaty protesters vent their anger in Berlin

LISTEN

Conflict bequeathed

On 28 June 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was signed, eight months after the end of the First World War. As victors, Britain, France and the USA faced the challenge of crafting an enduring peace. Instead, argues this five-part series hosted by Bridget Kendall, the new post-conflict order that emerged from the Versailles Peace Conference fuelled future tension and conflict. The partition of the Ottoman empire, for example, created an inherently unstable state south of Turkey, Iraq.

Versailles in Five Future Wars

Scheduled for Monday 24 June / BBC Radio 4

IN PRODUCTION: BELGRAVIA

For anyone missing *Downton Abbey*, here's a fillip: Julian Fellowes has penned a new drama, *Belgravia*. It begins when the social-climbing Trenchards are invited to a ball hosted by the Duchess of Richmond, which takes place on the eve of the battle of Waterloo. Events that will play out over decades begin. A project that started out as an app-cum-novel promises to be considerably grander when it eventually reaches TV screens. Starring Tamsin Greig, Philip Glenister, Harriet Walter and Tara Fitzgerald.

VISIT

Out in the field

Two major history festivals open their gates early this summer, bringing an array of talks, demonstrations and hands-on activities to rural locations in Cambridgeshire and Wiltshire.

Taking place from 20–23 June, the Wimpole History Festival line-up boasts a diverse collection of speakers, including Antony Beevor, Lucy Worsley and Melvyn Bragg, as well as screenwriter Sally Wainwright, who will explore the true story behind BBC One drama *Gentleman Jack*. The festival, held in the grounds of the National Trust's Wimpole Estate, will also mark several prominent anniversaries, including the bicentenary of the Peterloo massacre, which will be examined by historian Jacqueline Riding.

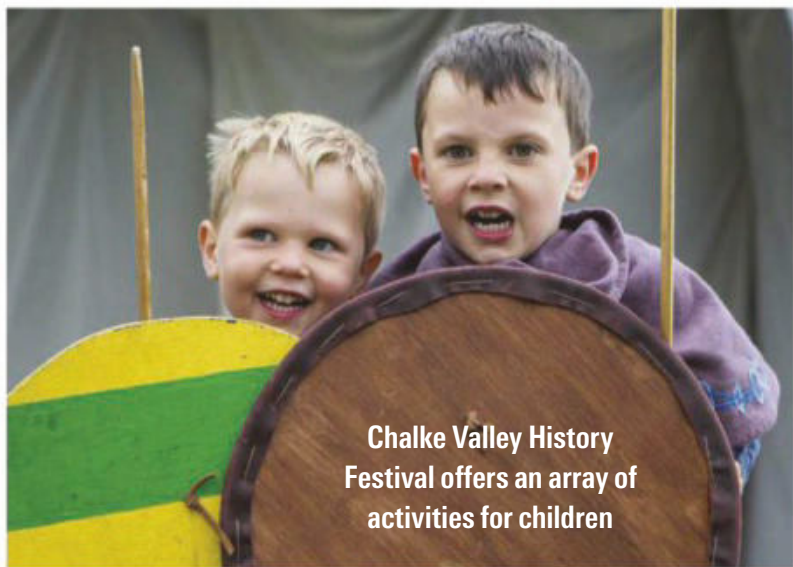
Then, from 24–30 June, visitors to the Chalke Valley History Festival near Salisbury will be treated to a similarly varied programme, with talks featuring the likes of Olivette Otele and Sir Max Hastings. The seven-day event will also commemorate the 75th anniversary of D-Day with a Second World War 'trench experience' and appearances from Normandy tank veteran Ken Tout and French Resistance member John Jammes. **H**

Wimpole History Festival

Wimpole Estate, near Cambridge / 20–23 June / wimpolehistoryfestival.com

Chalke Valley History Festival

Broad Chalke, near Salisbury / 24–30 June / cvhf.org.uk



Chalke Valley History Festival offers an array of activities for children



EXPLORE... LORD'S CRICKET GROUND

The mecca of cricket

As Lord's prepares to host the 2019 World Cup final, **SPENCER MIZEN** soaks up two centuries of history – Victorian grandeur, priceless art and stuffed sparrows to the fore – at cricket's most storied venue

When, on 14 July, the players walk out onto Lord's' impeccably manicured turf to contest the final of the 2019 World Cup – bringing the curtain down on a six-week extravaganza of towering sixes, toe-crunching yorkers and brilliant catches – cricket will feel very much like a game for the here and now. Yet of all the world's leading sports, perhaps none is more in thrall to its past than England's summer game, and nowhere is this more evident than at Lord's.

In fact, from the moment I arrived at cricket's most storied venue – stopping to admire the Grace Gates, the cast-iron tribute to WG, one of the most famous of all Victorians – I could almost feel history hurtling towards me like a well-directed bouncer. And it's a long history – one that stretches back to 1787 when Thomas Lord – the son of Yorkshire who gave the venue his name – secured a ground for the newly formed Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) to play on.

Lord's first forays into ground ownership were chequered: he moved the MCC out of its first home at Dorset Square after the area became a haunt of cutthroats; and was forced out of its second by the decision to carve the Regent's Canal right through the ground. Even the move to the current site in St John's Wood in 1814 almost ended badly, when Lord came close to selling the land to housing developers. Yet, once that fate was averted, the ground soon established itself as the epicentre of cricket. Rich Londoners were rapidly falling in love with the game, and the MCC – already established as the arbiter of cricket's laws – was uniquely placed to exploit this passion.

Since then, Lord's has witnessed many of cricket's landmark moments – the first Oxford versus Cambridge match in 1827, Don Bradman's flawless 254 for Australia in 1930, the first World Cup final in 1975. Yet in terms of sheer magnificence, nothing in the ground's history has stood the test of time better than Thomas Verity's pavilion, opened in 1890. A masterclass of Victorian grandeur, it's little wonder that it is the most celebrated building in world cricket, perhaps in all of sport.

The pavilion isn't just admired for its architectural beauty but also for what it

contains. There's the largest collection of cricket paintings in the world – my eye was drawn to a huge portrait of the West Indies' master blaster Viv Richards; and there's the honours boards in the changing rooms, listing every player who's scored a century, taken five wickets in an innings or 10 wickets in a match since the first Lord's Test in 1884.

But the centrepiece of the pavilion is surely the Long Room, cricket's holy of holies. Part art gallery, part impossibly exclusive executive box, it's here that MCC members gather to greet the players as they make their way onto the playing surface. It's a circuitous route from changing room to pitch – just ask England's David Steele who, on his Test debut in 1975, got lost and ended up in the pavilion's basement toilets.

Cricketing gold mine

One of the beauties of a visit to Lord's is that you can step out of the most famous building in cricket and, just a few seconds later, find yourself in front of its most famous artefact. The Ashes – the 11cm high urn that inspired the biennial clash between England and Australia – is the highlight of the MCC museum, situated just a few metres away from the pavilion, but it's far from the only attraction. From WG Grace's kit to the stuffed sparrow that was 'bowled out' by Jahangir Khan during a game in 1936, this, one of the world's oldest sports museums, is a gold mine of treasures from cricket's past.

Lord's celebrates its history, but it doesn't purely trade on past glories. The space age media centre (opened in 1999) that hovers above the ground's Nursery End is testament to that. And, on 14 July, that centre will be packed with journalists ready to run the rule over a new chapter in Lord's unique story. **H**

VISIT For more information on booking a guided tour to Lord's cricket ground, go to lords.org

LISTEN You can hear World Cup commentary on BBC Radio 5 Live Sports Extra, and follow the tournament via the BBC website **BBC**

The Grace Gates, the memorial to WG, the greatest cricketer of the Victorian age





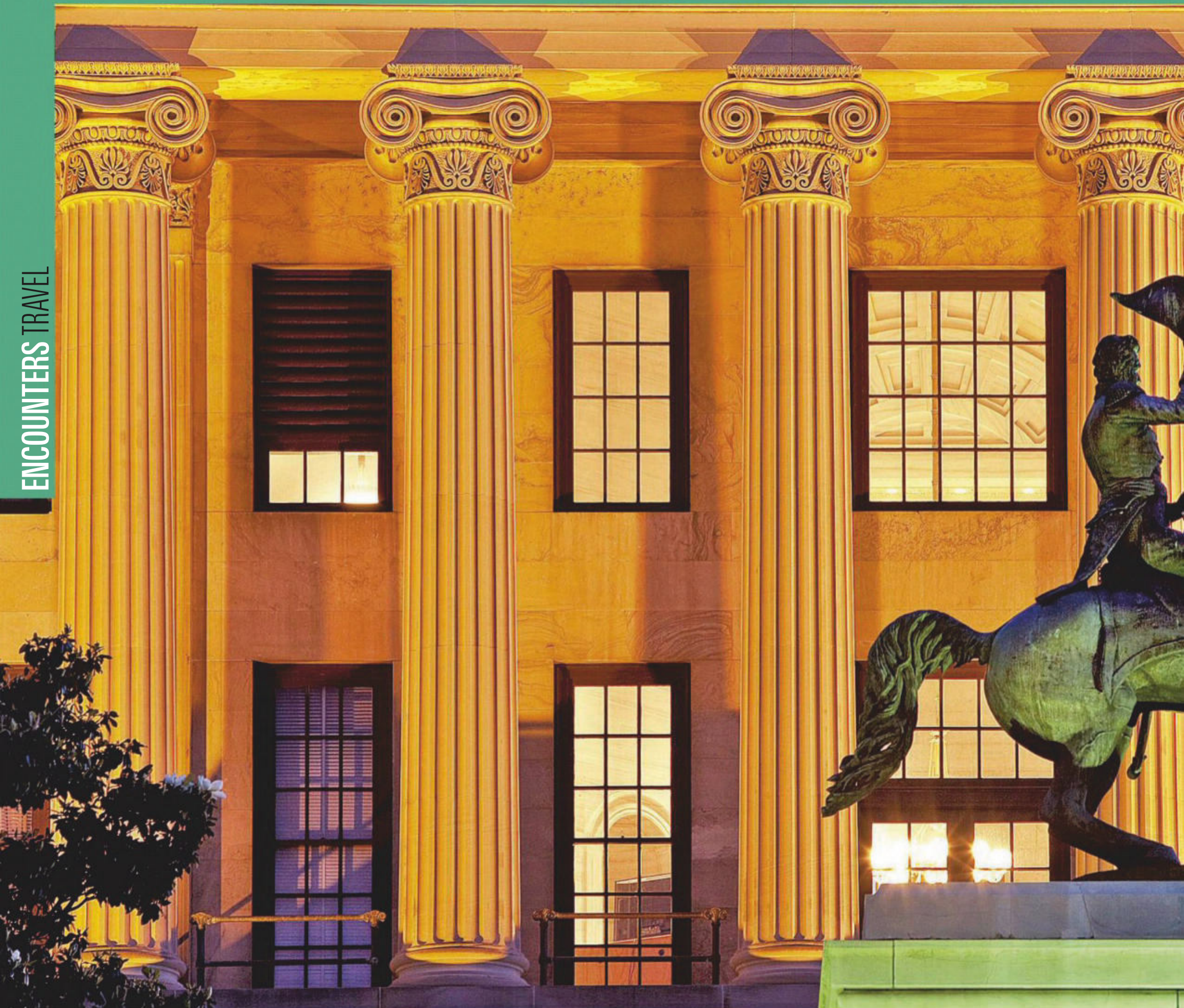
MCC members packed into the pavilion, opened in 1890, which is among the most celebrated buildings in world sport



The Long Room in the Lord's pavilion. Players must make their way through cricket's holy of holies en route to the playing surface



A stuffed sparrow killed by a ball in 1936 is one of the artefacts on display in the MCC Museum



LEFT: A stunning replica of the Parthenon in Nashville's Centennial Park, built for the Tennessee International Exposition in 1897 ABOVE: Neon signs illuminate the Broadway area of the city, famous for its live music venues known as 'honky tonks'

TRAVEL TO... NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

The beating heart of the American south

Best known for its vibrant music scene, Nashville is a superb place for anyone looking to learn more about the American south's varied history, food and culture.

The city's location overlooking the Cumberland river has meant that it has long been of strategic importance. A recreation of Fort Nashville, the revolutionary-era military stockade that preceded the city itself, can be visited today, while the Tennessee State Museum is the best place to follow the city's timeline.

The Civil War raged in Tennessee, with key battles taking place in both Nashville and nearby Franklin. Much of the vast Nashville battlefield is now under housing and other developments. However Franklin, 20 miles away, has two fascinating houses that played a key part in the conflict, as well as many Civil War graves. Franklin is also a well-preserved historic town in its own right and contains the McLemore House Museum – a rare surviving example of a house bought by a former slave.

In 1897 Nashville celebrated the centenary of Tennessee's entry into the United States by hosting an International Exposition. As part of the event, a full-scale replica of the Parthenon in Athens was constructed, which still exists today. This stands as a fascinating remnant of the Exposition, and also makes Nashville, remarkably, the best place after the Greek capital to get a taste of what the Parthenon looked like in its pomp.

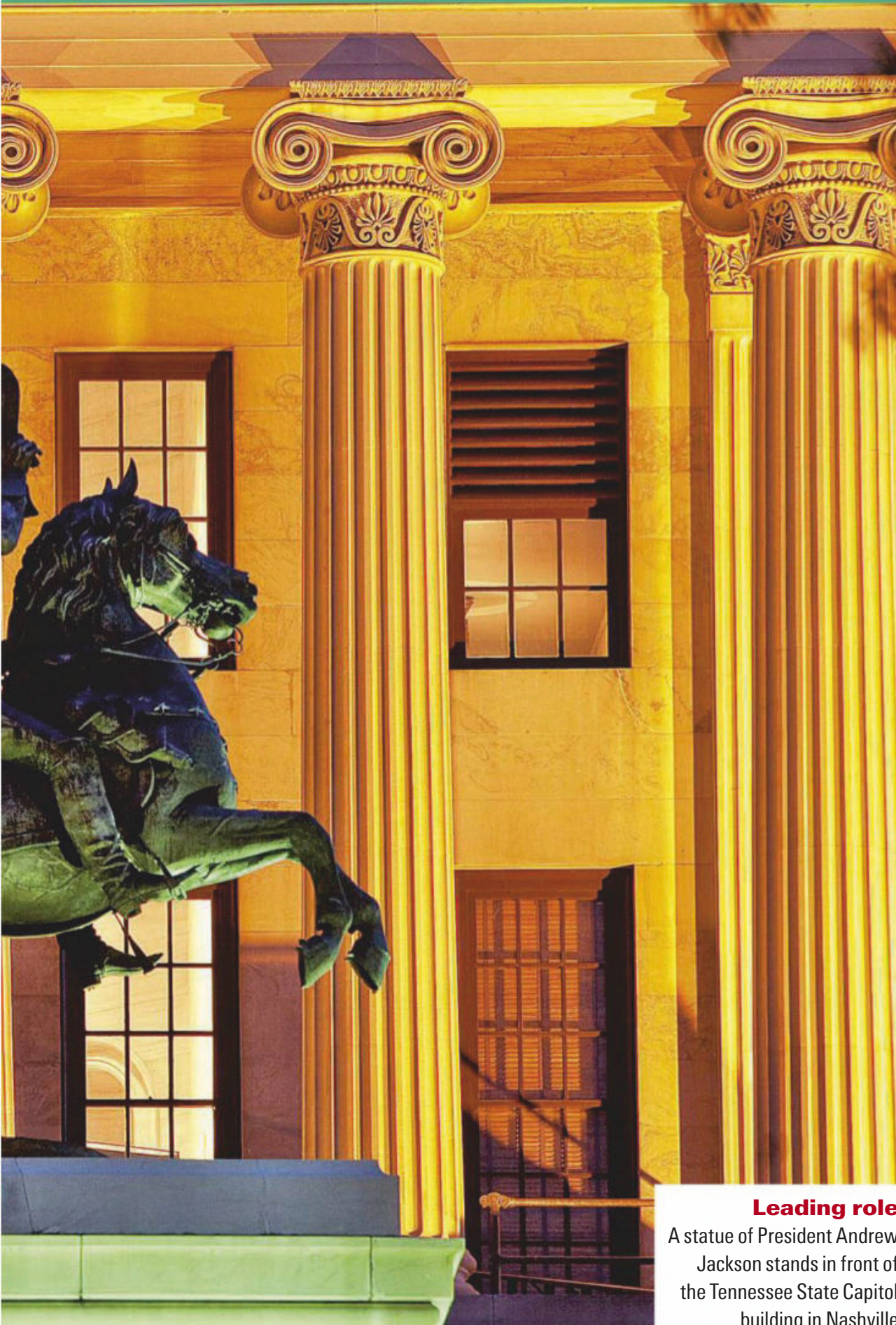
Elsewhere, museums devoted to local musical icons Johnny Cash and Patsy Cline, as well as Nashville's Country Music Hall of Fame, offer the chance to immerse yourself in the sounds the city is known for.

Don't leave without sampling Nashville's famous hot chicken, a fiery twist on southern-fried cooking inspired, legend has it, by a punishment meal once served up to a cheating partner. The fellow rather enjoyed it, and today there are hot chicken joints around the city. **H**

IF YOU LIKE THIS...

- There's nowhere quite like **New Orleans**, and the city is a great companion to Nashville if you plan on seeing more of the south
- The scenery and atmosphere may be different, but **Havana, Cuba** is another essential destination for music enthusiasts

By **Tom Hall**, travel writer and author of *Lonely Planet's Best Ever Travel Tips*



Leading role
A statue of President Andrew Jackson stands in front of the Tennessee State Capitol building in Nashville



The Carter House in Franklin, 20 miles from Nashville, was used by the Union army as a military HQ during the Civil War



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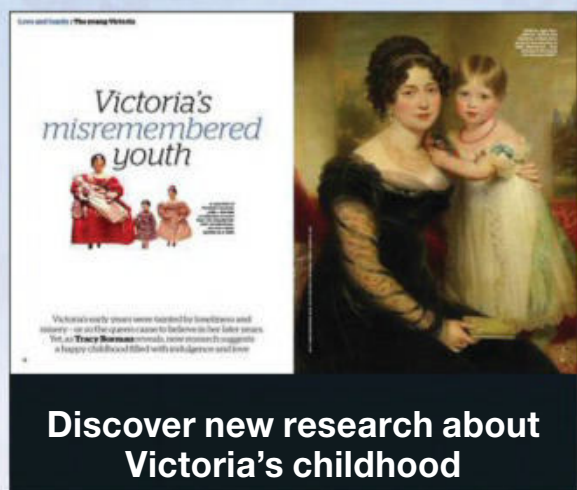
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PRIZE CROSSWORD

Across

- 1** Twentieth-century American astronomer, regarded as the leading observational cosmologist of his day (6)
4 Elizabeth I was represented as the 'Fairie Queene' in his poem of 1590 (7)
9 Corps formed in 1949, which, for the first time, made its women members subject to all sections of the Army Act (4)
10 Ancient Greek city on the Argolid coast. Its temple to Asclepius made it a sacred centre of healing (9)
11 She and her husband ruled jointly over the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in the late 15th century (8,1)
12 Island, called 'Ilva' by the Romans, which later became famous as the location of an exile (4)

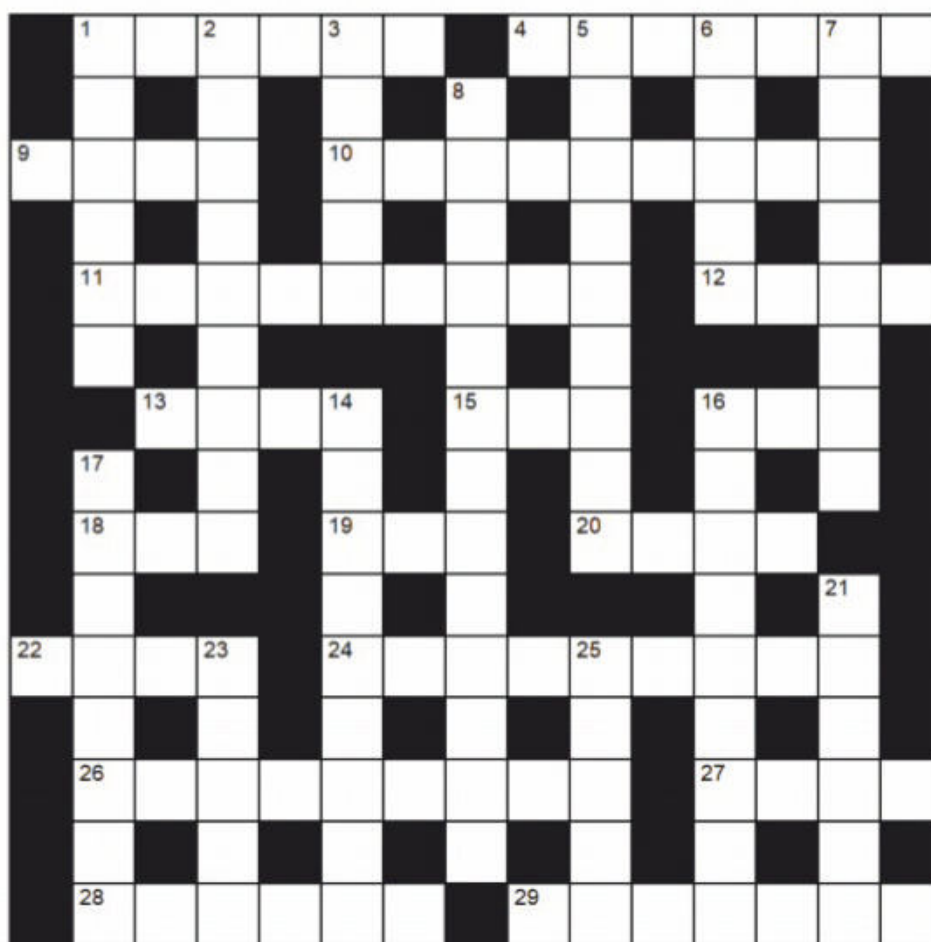


Who is this merchant, who introduced the printing press to England? (see 8 down)

- 13/1 down** A founder and first leader of the Labour party and an active supporter of the suffragists (4,6)
15 See 22 across
16 First name of English playwright ____ Jonson, arguably exceeded in importance only by Shakespeare, his contemporary (3)
18 A Browning lightweight machine gun used by the US in the two world wars and in Korea (abbrev) (3)
19 Established by Royal Charter in 1927, its motto is 'Nation Shall Speak Peace Unto Nation' (3)
20 The last ruler to bear this title was deposed in 1979 and died a year later in exile in Egypt (4)
22/15 Historical era, starting around the 12th century BC, named after the material used for tools and weapons (4,3)
24 Town of Massachusetts, celebrated as the site of the first military engagement of the American War of Independence (9)
26 Ancient system of writing developed by the Sumerians (9)
27 Major Roman poet, exiled from Rome by Augustus in AD 8 (4)
28 Members of the great Mesoamerican civilisation of Guatemala (6)
29 English scholar executed for heresy in 1536, after translating the Bible into English (7)

Down

- 1** See 13 across



- 2** A 17th-century piratical adventurer of the Caribbean region, such as Sir Henry Morgan (9)
3 Term relating to the homage owed by a feudal tenant to his overlord (5)
5 Strict Jewish sect, flourishing in the Second Temple era, that opposed the Sadducees (9)
6 Old ____, the literary language of the Icelandic sagas and eddas (5)
7 The geographic location of Jordan, as opposed to the area claimed by that country between 1950 and 1988 (4,4)
8 Merchant, said to be the first to introduce the printing press to England in 1476 (7,6)
14 Historically, it might be preceded by eg Easter, Fifteen and Monmouth's (9)
16 The Lake District house bought by John Ruskin in 1871, now a museum dedicated to his work (9)
17 The Roman garrison which later became the city of York (8)
21 An influential US dramatist who was made a Nobel Laureate in Literature in 1936 (6)
23 First name of the author of *The Sun King*, an acclaimed biography of Louis XIV, published in 1966 (5)
25 Derogatory acronym, popularised in the 1980s, for an objector to eg a housing development close to their home (5)

Compiled by **Eddie James**

What was this ancient system of writing called? (see 26 across)



Book worth **£25** for 5 winners

First on the Moon

By Rod Pyle

Fifty years on from Apollo 11's ground-breaking space mission, this richly illustrated book charts the incredible journey of the first men on the moon. It tells the astronauts' stories with first-hand accounts, striking photography and rarely seen documents from the Nasa archives. Written by space science expert Rod Pyle, *First on the Moon* also includes a foreword from Buzz Aldrin.

HOW TO ENTER

● Open to residents of the UK (inc Channel Islands). Post entries to **BBC History Magazine, July 2019 Crossword, PO Box 501, Leicester LE94 0AA** or email them to july2019@historycomps.co.uk by 5pm on **10 July 2019**. ● Entrants must supply full name, address and phone number. The winners will be the first correct entries drawn at random after the closing time. Winners' names will appear in the September 2019 issue. By entering, participants agree to be bound by the terms and conditions shown in full in the box below. Immediate Media Company Ltd (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) will use personal details in accordance with the Immediate Privacy Policy at immediatemediacompany.co.uk/privacy-policy/privacy/. ● Immediate Media Company Ltd (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) would love to send you newsletters, together with special offers and other promotions. If you would not like to receive these, please write 'NO INFO' on your entry. ● Branded BBC titles are licensed from or published jointly with BBC Studios (the commercial arm of the BBC). Please tick here ☐ if you'd like to receive regular newsletters, special offers and promotions from BBC Studios by email. Your information will be handled in accordance with the BBC Studios privacy policy: bbcstudios.com/privacy

Solution to our May 2019 Crossword

Across: 6 Bethlem 7 Santa Fe 10 Sumter 11 Hilliard 12 Amritsar
 14 Russia 15 Inns 16 Crecy 17 Mead 18 The Sun 20 Intifada
 23 Ack ack 25 Cave art 26 Parnell
Down: 1/22 Beau Brummell 2 Chetniks 3 Sevres 4 Earl Grey
 5 Stoics 8 Ferdinand 9 Sharpeville 13 Manchuria 16 Canberra
 17 Mafeking 19/24 Samuel Colt 21 Trajan
Five winners of 100 Speeches that Roused the World:
 D Lord, Surrey; F Keogh, Merseyside; B Myers, Durham;
 M Stewart, Lincolnshire; D Archer, Cheshire

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HISTORIC HOUSES

This Summer, discover a historic house, go on a guided tour, or explore some beautiful gardens.



Cusworth Hall & Park

This beautiful Grade I listed Georgian country house sits in acres of historic parkland. Free to visit, it's a welcoming place where you can discover local stories, stretch your legs and even enjoy a pint brewed on-site.

Discover how the people of South Yorkshire have lived, worked and played for over 200 years in Cusworth Hall's free museum. You can even taste its history in The Old Brewhouse microbrewery and bar, the transformed space where the Hall's previous inhabitants sought refreshment for centuries.

Explore the extensive parkland in search of water voles and kingfishers, or just relax for a while: bring a picnic, walk your dog, and let the kids loose on the play area. Please contact by email at heritage@doncaster.gov.uk.

01302 782342 | heritagedoncaster.org.uk/cusworth-hall



Breamore House

Breamore House is set in its own beautiful parkland amid surrounding farms and fields, the grandeur and magnificence of the house has changed little over the past 400 years. The Elizabethan Manor House and Countryside Museum are open for visitors from April until the end of October. Come visit us for a unique experience!

01725 512858 | www.breamorehouse.com



Hammerwood Park

Built in 1792 by Benjamin Latrobe, architect of the White House in Washington D.C, this bucolic Bacchic hunting lodge is set in picturesque Sussex parkland. Highlights include the historic musical instrument collection, the rare cast of the Parthenon frieze and a programme of summer concerts. Open: June - September, Wednesdays & Saturdays. (Admission by guided tour 2pm - £9).

01342 850594 | www.hammerwoodpark.co.uk



Hylands Estate

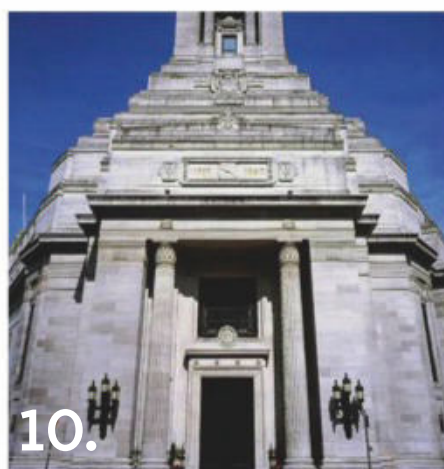
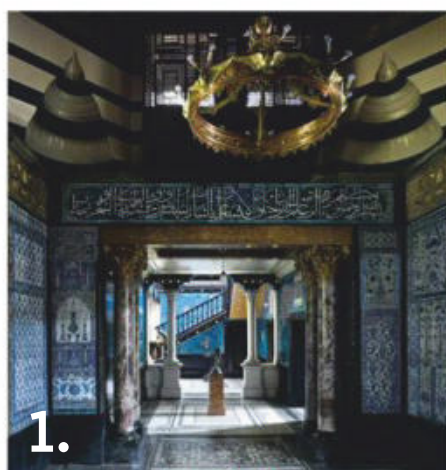
Set within 574 acres of stunning parkland, Hylands House is an elegant Neo-Classical villa with a fascinating history. Built by Sir John Comyns in 1730, the house, over the years, has been extended and remodelled according to the tastes and fashions of the day.

Chelmsford City Council purchased the entire estate in 1966 and the park has since been opened to the public. Hylands House is open to the public one Sunday a month with complimentary guided tours available, a different exhibition every time, free admission and parking. Please contact by email at hylands@chelmsford.gov.uk.

Hylands Estate, London Road, Chelmsford, Essex, CM2 8WQ.

01245 605500 | www.hylandsestate.co.uk

Summer Heritage Collection



1. LEIGHTON HOUSE MUSEUM

Leighton House Museum is the former studio-house of Victorian artist Frederic Leighton, featuring the magnificent Arab Hall and its extraordinary display of Islamic tiles and handcrafted mosaics. Also not to be missed is Leighton's grand studio.
leightonhouse.co.uk | museums@rbkc.gov.uk

2. DERBY MUSEUMS

Visit our beautiful World Collections gallery, featuring over 1400 objects. Co-produced with thousands of people, this vibrant space is designed to encourage interesting encounters and new perspectives.
derbymuseums.org | 01332 641 901

3. KELMSCOTT MANOR

The inspirational country home of William Morris: designer, craftsman and father of the Arts and Crafts movement. The Manor House, barns and surrounding area inspired many of Morris' important designs.
kelmscottmanor.org.uk | 01367 252486

4. NEWARK TOWN HALL MUSEUM & ART GALLERY

Fascinating architectural gem designed in 1774 by John Carr. A working Town Hall that also contains a museum within its beautiful Georgian rooms. Please contact by phone on 01636 680333.
newarktownhallmuseum.co.uk

5. MERCHANT ADVENTURERS' HALL

Discover one of the finest medieval guildhalls in the world - home to York's entrepreneurs for 660 years - and counting. Redoubtable tales, fascinating architecture and intriguing artefacts, all under a stunning 14th Century oak roof. merchantshallyork.org

6. BUTSER ANCIENT FARM

A unique experimental archaeological site in the beautiful South Downs. Step inside reconstructed buildings from the Stone Age, Iron Age, Roman and Saxon periods, learn traditional skills with year-round workshops and events.
butserancientfarm.co.uk | 02392 598838

7. ANAESTHESIA HERITAGE CENTRE

A unique medical science museum devoted to the history of anaesthesia, resuscitation and pain relief. The new exhibition "Doctor says relax" explores the history of muscle relaxants: from Amazonian arrow poison to life-saving drugs. aagbi.org/education/heritage-centre

8. FROGMORE MILL, HEMEL HEMPSTEAD

Learn about the history of paper, make your own sheet, see a working 1902 paper machine and much more at the world's oldest mechanised paper mill.
thepapertrail.org.uk | 01442 234600

9. MUSEUM OF WITCHCRAFT & MAGIC

Contains the world's oldest and largest collection relating to witchcraft, magic and the occult in the world. Located in the historic harbour of Boscastle on the North Cornwall coast since 1960.
museumofwitchcraftandmagic.co.uk

10. LIBRARY AND MUSEUM OF FREEMASONRY

Discover three centuries of English freemasonry in a unique museum situated in one of London's most spectacular Art Deco buildings.
www.freemasonry.london.museum

11. WEDGWOOD MUSEUM

Trace over 250 years of history and discover Josiah Wedgwood's lasting influence on industry and society. This museum houses the UNESCO protected V&A collection of huge historic and cultural significance.
worldofwedgwood.com

12. BAMBURGH CASTLE

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bamburghcastle.com | 01668 214515



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historyextra.com/albertdeath



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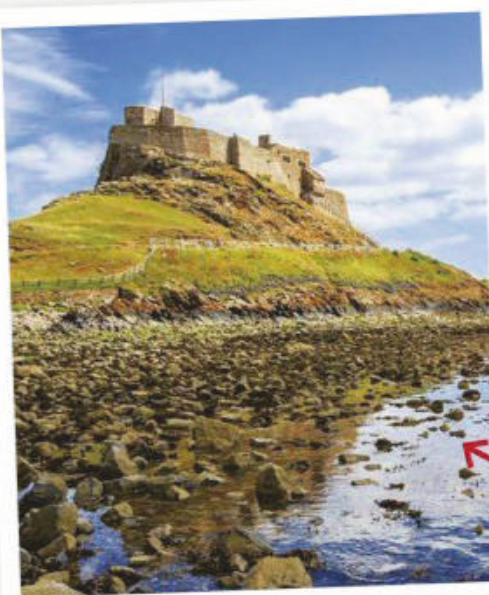
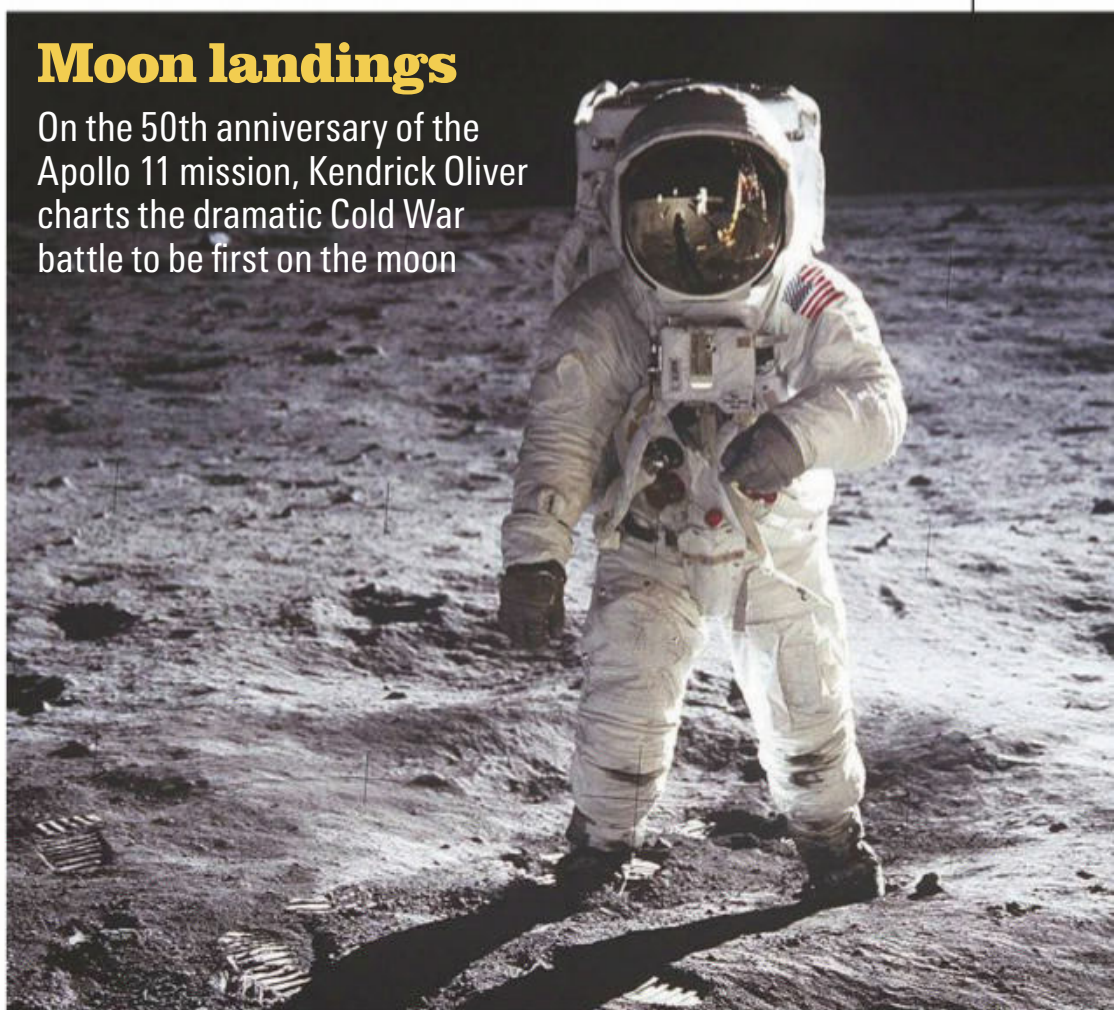
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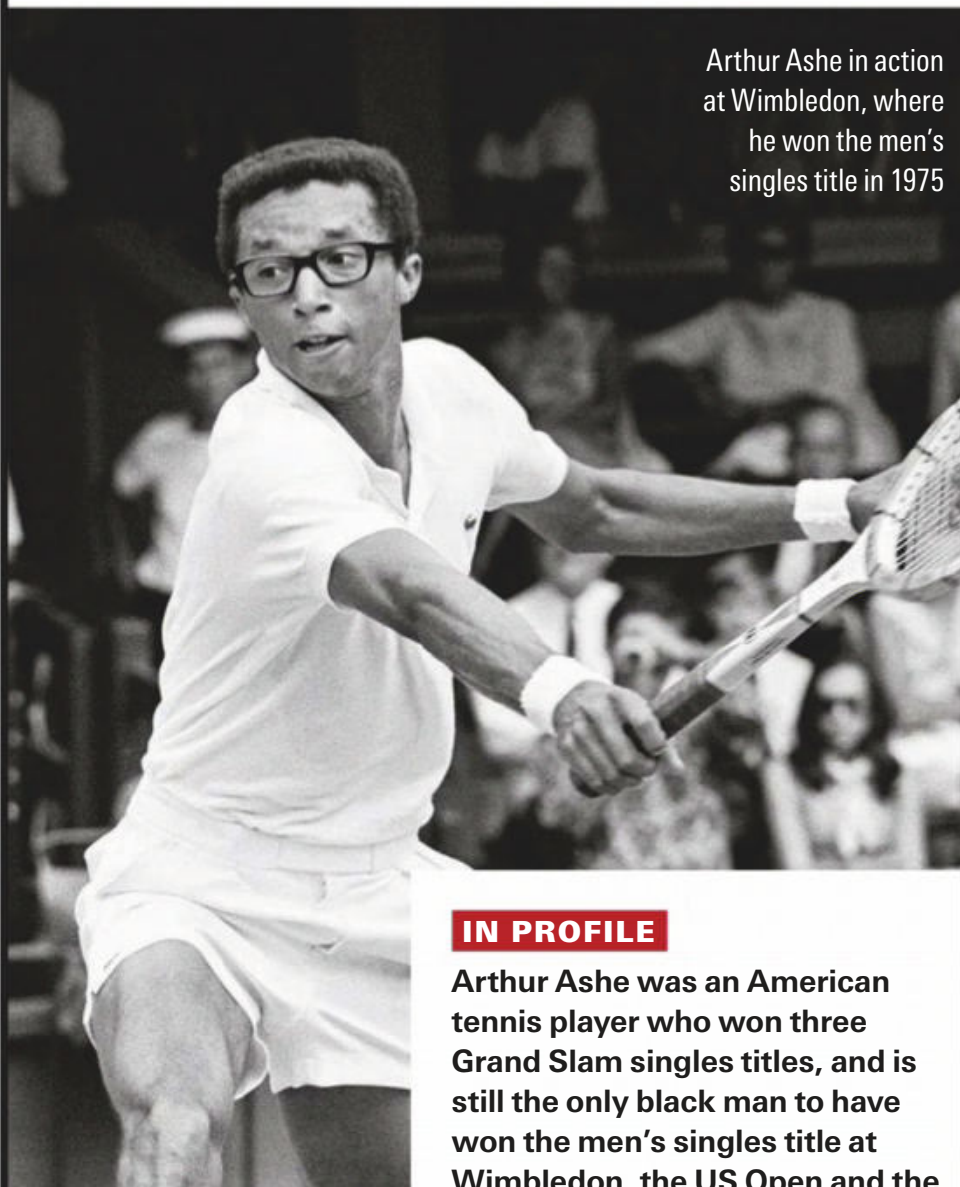
The former women's No 1 tennis player *Tracy Austin* chooses

Arthur Ashe

1943–93



Tracy Austin is a former world No 1 tennis player. She won the US Open twice (1979 and 1981), as well as the mixed doubles title at Wimbledon in 1980. She is commentating on this year's Wimbledon Championships for BBC television



Arthur Ashe in action at Wimbledon, where he won the men's singles title in 1975

IN PROFILE

Arthur Ashe was an American tennis player who won three Grand Slam singles titles, and is still the only black man to have won the men's singles title at Wimbledon, the US Open and the Australian Open. He was also the first black player to be selected for the US Davis Cup team. Ashe, who became known for his social activism after retiring, is believed to have contracted HIV from a blood transfusion he received during heart bypass surgery. He died from Aids-related pneumonia in New York aged 49.

// When he started out, America was a very different place, and he was not allowed to compete in all-white tournaments //

When did you first hear about Ashe?

As a girl of 12, growing up and passionate about tennis, I first became aware of him when he won the final against Jimmy Connors at Wimbledon in 1975. Arthur played a thoughtful, tactical match: it wasn't so much about power as about backhand slices, hitting the ball low and not allowing Jimmy his rhythm. I'll always remember everyone at my tennis club sitting around and watching the game, aware that history was being made.

What kind of person was he?

By the time I was making my way in the tennis world, he was already well established and had won a number of titles. I was lucky to get to know him, in part because we had the same agent, and he became something of a mentor to me. I instantly liked him: he was softly spoken, humble, bright and articulate. He always did the right thing and taught me a lot about how to deal with the media. That was a great help, particularly when I played my first Wimbledon aged 14.

What made Ashe a hero?

Firstly, his struggle to make it as a tennis player. When he started out, America was a very different place, and he was not allowed to compete in all-white tournaments. He opened the door for so many African-American players, like Serena Williams. Secondly, his hugely important work as a social activist – indeed, I think his activism was perhaps even more important than his tennis. For instance, he started the National Junior Tennis League, which is still going strong and has enabled thousands of underprivileged kids to gain experience playing tennis. So his legacy lives on.

What was his finest hour?

Winning at Wimbledon was one. Watching him, I realised how you had to adapt your game depending on your opponent and the playing surface. Another was his role in fighting apartheid. His repeated requests for a visa to compete in the South African Open were denied – in protest at this discrimination, he campaigned for US sanctions against South Africa. Thirdly, his bravery in fighting HIV. He founded the Arthur Ashe Foundation for the Defeat of Aids, to educate people and to help find a cure for the condition. He was aware that there were bigger things in the world beyond the lines of a tennis court.

Do you think he would have pursued his social activism had he lived?

Absolutely. He was 49 years old when he died, which was way too young. A man like Arthur, with such a commitment to social change, would have continued trying to make the world a better place. He may even have ended up going into politics. **H**

Tracy Austin was talking to York Membership

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